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A Scientific Medium of Social Study and Interpretation

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THE LITERARY QUEST FOR UTOPIA BY ALLYN B. FORBES
THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT BY HORNELL HART
THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL EVALUATION BY ROSS L. FIMNEY
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CARTER

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THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES: A History of Sociology in the United
States BY L. L. BERNARD

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SOCIAL FORCES

CONTENTS FOR DECEMBER, 1927

CONTRIBUTED ARTICLES

	Page
THE NATURE OF INSTITUTIONS.....	Floyd H. Allport 167
THE LITERARY QUEST FOR UTOPIA, 1880-1900.....	Allyn B. Forbes 179
THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT.....	Hornell Hart 190
PRIMITIVE SOCIAL NORMS IN PRESENT-DAY EDUCATION.....	Kimball Young 197
THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL EVALUATION.....	Ross L. Finney 202

DEPARTMENTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.....	209
Research Interests of American Sociologists, <i>Hugh Carter</i> ; The Latest in the Philosophy of History, <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> ; Two Philosophic Sociological Theorists, <i>Read Bain</i> .	
PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK.....	221
Present Conditions in Education for Psychiatric Social Work, <i>Mary C. Jarrett</i> ; The Community Chest in Virginia Cities, <i>Gladys L. Palmer</i> .	
COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD.....	237
The Public School Community Library, <i>Edward L. Burchard</i> ; Interrelation Between City and Rural Life, <i>Jesse Frederick Steiner</i> ; Community Organization in Greater St. Louis, <i>Elwood Street</i> .	
RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.....	253
The Penitentes, <i>Mary Watters</i> ; The Declining Immigrant Press, <i>Marshall Beuick</i> .	
GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP.....	264
Immigration an International Problem, <i>Donald R. Taft</i> ; Justice and Wages, <i>Glenn E. Hoover</i> .	
SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS.....	278
The Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men, <i>W. A. Anderson</i> ; More Light for Competition, <i>Leverett S. Lyon</i> ; Learning While You Play, <i>Phillips Bradley</i> .	
LIBRARY AND WORKSHOP.....	291
Book Reviews, <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> , <i>L. L. Bernard</i> , <i>Bruce Melvin</i> , <i>Phillips Bradley</i> , <i>Harry Elmer Barnes</i> ; Book Notes, <i>Frank H. Hankins</i> ; Book Lists, <i>Katharine Jocher</i> .	
THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES.....	ii
A History of Sociology in the United States, <i>L. L. Bernard</i>	

THE SEARCH AFTER VALUES¹

A HISTORY OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES

L. L. BERNARD

THE plan of this projected "history" is novel in that it purposes to be more specifically sociological than historical in its scope and method. It has long been the belief of the editor and author of the work that the study of the history of sociology should be primarily sociological and only secondarily historical, however paradoxical such a statement may seem upon first thought. In teaching this subject in four universities and to various types of students he has always sought to emphasize the condi-

tions of environment and personality under which the various sociological theories have arisen more fully than the sequence of theories, systems or categories. It has been his chief belief that sociological theory can be made as truly a subject for sociological (as distinguished from historical) investigation as any other type of social phenomena. But to accomplish this end it is necessary to study the circumstances under which the theories were produced. The prevailing general and special scientific and philosophic theories

¹ In this issue of *Social Forces* will be found a number of contributions relating to theory, teaching, research, and development of sociology and its relation to other social studies and social institutions. We wish particularly to emphasize Professor Bernard's discussion of "A History of Sociology in the United States" in the *Search After Values*, special contributed articles interpreting important volumes, and a number of book reviews in this field.

Professor Floyd N. House, of the University of Virginia, in discussing Professor Hornell Hart's paper on a consensus of American opinion concerning the history of social thought, calls attention to the distinction between sociologist and others who have contributed in one way or another to social thought. He thinks that confusion of sociology and social ethics ought to be avoided. Professor Hart is in agreement with Professor House when he cautions:

"Now, from my point of view, Darwin was *not* a sociologist, but he was a *scientist*, and a contributor to the formation of certain fundamental scientific postulates and theories which are starting points for, and in a sense *parts of* scientific sociology. Jesus was a great religious and moral teacher, doubtless the greatest the world has yet seen, but for working purposes the study of the origin and development of moral ideas may be largely separated from the study of the origin and development of social science. The teachings of Jesus are of course perfectly logical subject-matter for study by sociologists when they are considered as *material*, just as the moral ideas of the Trobriand islanders are studied by Malinowski, and I make haste to add that the teachings of Jesus are of considerably greater value as material for study because they have been so much more widely influential. The story of Jesus and of Christianity is frequently omitted from collections of sociological material for discretionary reasons, I suspect, because the maker of a textbook suspects that both teachers and students will have difficulties when it comes to regarding this material with the requisite detachment.

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and movements of the time must be understood and the relations of the sociological writer, through his education, reading, contacts with political, religious, economic and other interests and organizations, to these movements must be appreciated. Furthermore the personality, as well as the psycho-social environment, of the writer must be analyzed in order better to understand the type of mental reaction he was or is capable of making to his intellectual environment.

In other words, the history of sociological theory cannot be studied merely as a sequence of logical propositions or of systems. The writers of systems and treatises are, like all the rest of us, very human. Their convictions are not detachable from their experiences and associations. The building up of their theories is decidedly a matter of the conditioning of their mental responses to prevailing patterns of thought and of the invention of new patterns under the pressures of all sorts of analyzed and unanalyzed or but dimly recognized circumstances and conditions. The new psychology—or, if one prefers, the new psychologies—have left us with a grave suspicion that at least some theory is not wholly free from the flavor of rationalization. Logic is an adaptable tool which serves many masters. Also, an objective analysis and comparison of theories and systems leads us to more than a mere suspicion that the thinking of any age or generation tends to conform pretty closely, if somewhat generally, to pattern, or at least to a few dominant patterns, which appear to be in the main complicated logical defenses of existing or proposed social orders and institutions, and even upon occasion, of personal interests and needs.

Thus conceived the sociological study of the history of sociological thinking is

seen to be very largely a problem, or a series of problems, in social psychology. There must be an adequate analysis of the social—especially of the psycho-social and the derivative social control—environments, and of their relations to the sociological theorists. Also the personalities of the writers themselves must be studied in order to understand the incidence of their reactions to their psycho-social and control environments. This sort of analysis calls for almost as much emphasis upon the life histories and institutional environments of sociologists as upon their theories. The importance of the environment, under such terms as "the times," "factors," or "circumstances," has already been fairly adequately recognized in social historical investigation. The new emphasis which must be driven home more fully than it has ever been before is that upon personality and the factors in the adjustment situation of the individual in relation to his environment. This new emphasis is now made possible by the recent developments in social psychology, which may be turned to account by the student of sociological theory.

In the present projected work it is scarcely hoped to accomplish immediately all of these objectives adequately and thoroughly. Such a task will doubtless require more than one generation of studies for its fulfillment. But it is expected that, with the aid and coöperation of the sociologists themselves, it may be possible to make some contribution to the method here briefly outlined. The work here planned, to be completed in three separate and relatively independent volumes, will follow this general method as sketched above.

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general editorial supervision of Howard W. Odum, will be primarily an institutional history of sociology in the United States. In so far as possible it is being prepared by the founders, or under the direction of the founders, and leading personalities of the department of sociology in this country. The attempt is to see sociology whole to be sure, but to see it in the settings and in relation to the various circumstances under which it has developed in our universities and colleges. The founders and fosterers of sociology in the United States have a most interesting story to tell in depicting the histories of their several departments and in giving to their fellow sociologists of this and succeeding generations a frank and penetrating analysis of the origins and integrations of a great science in their particular corners of the intellectual world. All future adequate study of the history of sociology must have this background if the study is to be in the highest degree fruitful, and only these men who have been a part of the growth of these departments can adequately tell their stories. Furthermore, in many cases they must tell them now if ever. The response to my request for coöperation has, in practically all cases, been all that I could ask. The sociologists have perceived the significance of the plan and have responded generously.

But the departmental histories, with their various ramifications into other sciences, departments, universities and even other countries and times, are not alone sufficient. As suggested above, the development of sociology in this, or any country, has been not alone institutional; it has also been personal. The reactions of the sociologists themselves to the subject and to the movement, to the viewpoint, and to the method or methods of sociology, will throw quite as much light upon the subject of sociological theory and investigation as the study of their growth

in universities. We need to know what men, what theories, what outlooks upon life, what circumstances and experiences and problems, personal and general, gave to these men who have made sociology what it is their interest in the subject, their viewpoint and their methods. How did they build up the content of their theories? Obviously, again, only the sociologists themselves can give us this information. And the best way to secure it is equally obviously to ask the sociologists to prepare carefully meditated and critical case histories of their sociological development. In order to secure as adequate a picture as possible of sociology in the United States these case histories should come from sociologists of all stripes, in all types of positions, and of all ages and conditions. And such is the plan of the editor for the second volume. The intention is to make of it a collection of sociological case histories of the sociologists themselves, carefully edited and arranged with the purpose of bringing out the various influences forming sociology and the various trends in the development of the subject. Obviously this is something new in the writing of the history of sociology. But it is believed that it will prove as significant for an adequate understanding of the history of the subject as it is new. Here again the sociologists generally have shown an appreciation of the significance of the method and a willingness to coöperate.

The third and final volume, as projected, is to be an analysis of the theories of the writers, taken from their published materials. This volume will follow the conventional lines of the writing of the history of sociological theory, except that an attempt will be made to interpret the theories in the light of the materials presented by the sociologists themselves in the two antecedent volumes.

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The part played by the person whose name appears in connection with this article in this undertaking is predominantly that of editor and planner of the work. Only the last volume will be written entirely by him. The nature of the undertaking is necessarily such that it can be brought to a successful issue only by the coöperation of the sociologists themselves. It is gratifying that their interest has so far been such that they are willing to take the trouble to put the data which only they can provide on record for the benefit of the students of sociological science.

It is the editor's desire to secure at least an outline history of sociology in every college and university in the United States from the time of the first course offered to the present time, with at least

a minimum account of the date of the introduction of new courses and the names of the men who offered them. This is the minimum of the historical material asked for. It is important also to have in addition as much information as is available about the circumstances under which sociology developed in the various institutions, the emphases upon particular types of subject matter, the personal interests, training, and personalities of the teachers and many other similar and related matters. It is, perhaps, even more important to have full case histories of the sociological development of all of the sociologists of the country, after the manner described above. The undertaking must necessarily be coöperative, for which reason a generous response is cordially requested.

REPRINTS FROM THE SOCIOLOGICAL PRESS

An interesting experiment in which Malcolm Willey and McQuilkin DeGrange hope to rescue from oblivion certain important material, is The Sociological Press. Announced reprint-publications include:

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THE CURVE OF SOCIETAL MOVEMENT, by *McQuilkin DeGrange* of Dartmouth College

SOCIAL FORCES

December, 1927

THE NATURE OF INSTITUTIONS¹

FLOYD H. ALLPORT

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL
DEFINITIONS OF INSTITUTION

THE term institution has long been one of the descriptive categories of sociology and political science.

Upon looking over treatises dealing with this concept, however, one is impressed by its lack of fruitfulness. The content which it implies has been of little use in helping us to understand actual human situations. Accepted out of traditional usage, the term "institution" has not been subjected to that scrutiny which is usually applied to working scientific concepts.

There seem to be at least two possible ways of defining institutions, ways which belong to diverse currents of social theory. The first view treats the data of social science as upon a plane separate from the data of natural science, and as comprising entities which are "super-individual" and uniquely "social." From this standpoint institutions are entities having a kind of structure. They are also spoken of as forms of control which society places upon human life, or as the rational working out of social purposes. In whatever manner such statements may differ in detail, they have the common import of treating institutions as things in them-

selves. Human behavior is of course implied in them; but they have a reality of their own upon a societal plane, which is to be studied by an approach not to individual behavior, but to the institution *per se*.

The other definition classifies institutions as phases or segments of human behavior. Since the institution, on this view, is wholly behavior, it is to be discovered only by a study of the habits and attitudes of individuals. We must, of course, have a sufficient sample of individuals; but we are nevertheless studying concrete individual behavior, and the supporting discipline therefore is not sociology but psychology. The principles to be employed in this approach are not those of a sociological level, such as social continuity, tradition, social organization, and social control; but psychological concepts such as attitude, habit formation, educational processes, and common segments of response. The units involved in such a formulation of institutions are in the same sphere of reality as the units of biology, chemistry, and other natural sciences. Like the latter, and unlike the sociological units, they tend to be directly and concretely, rather than metaphorically, experienced. This approach, practically ignored by social scientists in the past, has peculiar advantages not only

¹ A discussion of Professor Judd's Psychological Analysis.

for the understanding of institutional processes, but for developing a technique of measurement and discovering generalizations whereby changes may be predicted.

The sociological and psychological viewpoints are, to be sure, often combined by social writers within a single definition. A recent textbook, after discussing various definitions, finally arrives at the conclusion that "an institution is made up of three factors: namely, (1) a system of approved group-ways carried over from the past, (2) people interested in observing and perpetuating this system of ways and organized for the purpose of doing so, (3) a group of things used by the people for the observance and perpetuation of the ways."² This statement clearly combines the two views of institutions described above. The psychological phase is shown in the mention of certain definite types of human behavior (group-ways) as well as of individual human beings. The sociological aspect is comprised in speaking of "a system of group ways" perpetuated by the people; this system, by inference and by contradistinction from the people themselves, being treated as a reality apart from individuals. The group behavior is somehow abstracted from its concrete existence in individuals and given substantive character as "the institution." A still clearer example of the practice of changing psychological units into sociological entities endowed with a potency of their own is shown in the following definition quoted by the same authors from Hobhouse: "Institutions are recognized and established usages governing certain relations of man." A further formulation from the sociological standpoint treats institutions as "accumulations of social

capital which have been produced in the course of community life."³

The chief difficulty in all those formulas is that of securing a satisfactory substantive meaning for the term institution. The group of collaborators quoted above tell merely what the institution comprises; they neglect to state what it *is*. Hobhouse calls institutions "usages which govern human relations." But this statement is unsatisfactory because untrue except in a metaphorical sense. To say that usages (habits) govern men is merely to say that men usually behave in an *habitual manner*. The author last quoted resorts to a purely figurative notion ("accumulated social capital") in order to give content to the term under discussion.⁴

The conclusion which seems to force itself upon the writer is that, from the viewpoint of natural science, the institution is not a substantive concept at all. That which the sociologist calls an "Institution" is from the psychologist's standpoint merely similar and reciprocal habits, of individual behavior, together with tools which individuals have constructed for carrying them out. These habits are plural and discrete (existing in individuals separately) and therefore devoid of the synthesis or unity implied by a single term such as "institution." It is impossible to abstract from individuals these ways of behaving and point to "the common way" of behaving as an entity in any scientific sense. The word institution describes a situation of similar and reciprocal behavior. It is not a thing in itself. From a psychological standpoint we may speak of institutionalized behavior, but not of an institution.

² Judd, C. H. *The Psychology of Social Institutions*, p. 3.

⁴ It is noteworthy that in Professor Judd's entire work no adequate definition is given of what an institution *is* in terms capable of scientific use.

³ Arneson, Barnes, Coulter, and Hubbert. *A Gateway to the Social Sciences*. Ginn and Company, 1926. Pp. 108-111.

It is not impossible, the writer believes, to resolve this paradox of mutually antagonistic formulations and to combine the two views into a useful approach. For the present, however, it will be of greater help toward clarity of thinking if we hold them sharply in opposition. For purposes of studying the contrast we can find no better material than that contained in Professor Judd's recent work, *The Psychology of Social Institutions*. This book, though written mainly from the standpoint of a psychologist, combines the psychological approach with the traditional view concerning social entities. Certain contradictions and shifts of emphasis have resulted which are illuminating from the standpoint of our study. These will now be considered in detail.

In the work mentioned above, the author treats mainly of the simpler and more elementary portions of culture, such as language, number systems, and measures of precision in weight, distance, and time. The more complex institutions of the sociologist, such as the "church" and the "state" have been given only a cursory analysis. The main theme of the book is that we cannot understand society, or even individual behavior, so long as we study only the isolated individual. No mere laboratory investigation of the individual and no description of his instinctive or emotional nature will enable us to understand the complex institutional factors which mold and control his very thinking and living. "We live," says the author, "in a world where the luxuries of life are delivered to us through meters, reported in Arabic numerals, and paid for in coin" (p. 151). In consulting a watch a man makes use of many inventions and of the coöperative acts of past generations performed by individuals whose lives and characteristics are now lost forever. Hence "there is a breadth and scope in the

psychology of social institutions which is entirely lacking in any system of individual psychology" (p. 127). "Coins," according to this author, "are symbols of a series of social interrelationships" (p. 49). The social situation he views as involving a network of mutual expectancies. We expect people to greet us in a manner prescribed by their social status in relation to ours. We expect our paper money to pass at the same value as coin or in exchange for a certain amount of some specific commodity. We expect people to keep their appointments according to a standard system of time which we also are following. The social situation creates a certain type of expectancy and consequent effort to meet this. The general treatment of the book thus dignifies institutions by treating them as a field of objective facts and implying that they have a "psychology" of their own which in some paradoxical manner is distinct from the psychology of human individuals.

On the other hand, since Professor Judd is a psychologist he is bound, in the concrete development of his thesis, to treat the individual as the locus of the psychological processes of which institutions are composed. "This attitude of confidence [in paper money] . . . is the outgrowth of repeated experiences in which we have seen the paper accepted without hesitation by tradespeople" (p. 51). He also points out that the stability of paper currency is dependent upon the individual's attitude of confidence in the government set up by the group in which such paper passes as legal tender. In another connection he takes the position that the rapid increase in the diffusion of printed information is due not so much to such inventions as the modern printing press, as to the increase in reading ability and reading habits of the people. Coming therefore to closer description, Professor Judd's

"institutions" resolve themselves into the concrete activities of individuals involved in the making and using of tools, in the employment of common measures of precision and in attitudes of mutual expectancy. "Expectation," he says, "may be described as the conscious counterpart of a habit" (p. 60). While we have travelled a long way from instinctive and emotional life to arrive at these patterns of tool-using and mutually expectant attitudes, it is still true that we are dealing with patterns of *human behavior* and therefore with the psychology of individuals. And thus the author leaves us with the contradiction which results from attempting to combine without analysis the sociological and the psychological views of institutions. On the one hand the institution is conceived as an objective social entity; upon the other it is viewed wholly as subjective and within individuals.

Attention may be called to certain passages of Professor Judd's book which when placed side by side will exhibit this contradiction.⁵ At one place the author says: "Institutions are crystallized ideas. They make possible the transmission of ideas. They are detached from the minds in which they originated and are capable of affecting other minds" (p. 17). Let us compare this super-individual conception of institutions with the two following formulations: "The effects of institutions such as we have been describing did not begin to accumulate rapidly until men arrived at a recognition of the advantages of imitation as a method of adaptation"

⁵ Our purpose here is not to discredit the valuable treatment which Professor Judd has given the problem of institutions. A more balanced and systematic review of this work has been provided by the present writer in *The School Review*, September, 1926, pp. 547-551. The references used in this discussion are selected merely as a guide into some of the confused problems of method in the social sciences.

(p. 17). And again: "A word cannot pick up an idea and carry it over to another mind. Ideas become effective in a group only in so far as all the members of the group have learned forms of thought which are common" (p. 214). At one time the author thus stresses the rôle of the institution in understanding the individual; at another time he stresses the psychology of the individual as the basis for understanding the institution. He wishes to establish the conviction that "individual mental life is what it is by virtue of powerful social influences" (p. 128). Yet he is continually showing that these "social influences" are simply the modes of behavior or the inventiveness of other individuals.

Turning now to a few special problems in which the psychological and sociological views may be contrasted, let us examine more closely the concept of "expectancy" which Professor Judd has made basic in his treatment of institutions. "The fact which we have described by the term 'expectation,'" he says, "is at once a product of group life and a dominant fact within the individual. Once an expectation has been created it becomes a guide to conduct. The breach of an expectation gives just as acute distress as a physical pain. In this sense expectation is a new form of reality capable of being described and demanding respect on the part of all members of the group"⁶ (p. 59). Again: "Social groups produce by their interaction modifications of individual behavior. These we call conventions. The convention is recorded in the individual as an expectation and as a habit of personal conduct. *It should not be overlooked that expectation while it is related to behavior is not synonymous*

⁶ The term "expectation" in this sense is practically interchangeable with the sociologist's term "custom."

with individual habit. The superior expects a certain type of salutation from the inferior, but the superior does not himself cultivate as a personal habit the mode of salutation which he expects. Habit and expectation issue in highly elaborated systems of behavior and in complex codes of conduct to which the group not only gives its sanction, but on which it is prepared to insist with adequate power to enforce its demands" (pp. 61-62). (Italics are by the present writer.)

This view, while sound in the main, invites a criticism of the treatment of expectation as a category different from habit. Is there really an "expectation" (or abstract custom), apart from habits of individuals, which determines such situations as these? While it is true that the superior does not have the same habit of salutation which he expects from the inferior, still, he has a habit of his own. The social situation comprising expectancy then may in certain cases mean the readiness of two individuals to respond to each other by respectively *different* forms of behavior. It is a situation in which each expects a form of behavior different from his own. The superior, moreover, is actually thwarted in his own habit of salutation if the greeting of the inferior is lacking in deference or otherwise at variance with convention (expectation); for the former in this case must block his usual reaction and respond by anger, hauteur, or some other method suitable to the implied offense. In other words expectation lies in the neuro-muscular "set" for releasing wonted habit-responses without blocking or hindrance. When we say our expectation is thwarted by unconventional behavior of our fellows, we mean our own habits of response are thwarted. In addition to this, other habitual reactions of the superior are blocked, attitudes which we are accustomed to regard

as his "sense of self-esteem" or "public dignity." Expectation then may be reduced to a situation where each person is set to perform his particular group of habits upon meeting the other. These habits may be the same in the two persons or may differ, according to the individual's previous encounters with the other person, or with similar individuals who have stimulated him in the same manner.

A more obvious example of the identity between expectation and habit is seen in our behavior in passing upon the right when we meet another individual upon a highway. In this case the expectancy which each has of the behavior of the other is mainly comprised in the fact that neither can perform his own usual habit (passing upon the right) unless the other person does likewise. In this democratic situation the responses of the two individuals are similar but, owing to their face to face position, reciprocal. A more despotic arrangement would be for the inferior to yield always the complete right of way to the superior. In this case the habits of the two would be again reciprocal, but different. To quote Professor Judd's own statement of the case: "The man of superior rank, which at first meant the man of superior strength, [upon meeting another man] pushed the weaker man aside. When two men of equal rank met, they sometimes decided who should have the path by trial of strength. In either case, the tendency was ultimately developed for the weak to defer to the strong. . . . Indeed, all that we have described by such terms as 'prestige' and 'rank' is in the making when men meet on a narrow path, not because the path in itself conveys the idea of prestige but because the social situation creates a certain type of expectation and a consequent effort to meet this expectation" (pp. 62-63). It seems to the writer, however,

that if Professor Judd had gone a little further and had acknowledged that this custom of dominance and submission lay entirely in the habits or attitudes of the persons meeting each other, he would have reduced "expectation" to a scientific category instead of having left it hanging in the air.

A second problem bringing into contrast the two views of institutions under consideration is concerned with numbers and measures of precision. To Professor Judd the number system is apparently not merely a matter of individual psychology but a unique social invention existing objectively. It is a tool which individuals come to use in learning to think and deal with their experiences. It is a mold in which the individual's thought is cast, and not merely a set of habits which he may acquire. This is shown, he says, by the fact that children exhibit marked individual differences in their learning of the number system. Some use one kind of mental imagery, some another kind, and some none at all. Some are proficient in one branch and defective in other branches; others are equally proficient in all. In contrast with these psychological differences we may place the stable and objective character of the number system which in itself is the same for every individual. The "social institution" therefore is something more than the psychological processes of individuals (pp. 154-156).

In reply to this ingenious argument it may be said that its author has limited himself too thoroughly to the introspective point of view. There are to be sure conspicuous differences in individuals' reports of their "content of consciousness" during the learning process and in their use of numbers. If we consider their *behavior*, however, we shall find no striking differences, but rather, striking similarities. If two boys each count out ten pe-

nies, while there may be individual peculiarities in the manner of handling the coins, there will, however, be certain aspects of their movements which are practically identical. When several persons speak the numbers, while there may be individual differences in pitch and timbre of the voice and in inflection, there will be striking similarity as to the basic vowel and consonantal sounds. These audible similarities rest, of course, on similar responses of the vocal muscles in the various speakers. When we examine therefore the "institution" or like behaviors of individuals we shall find quite enough identity and regularity to convince us that the number system may appear as stable and universal while still having its existence in the behavior mechanisms of human beings. There is no necessity for the hypothesis of an objective numeral system in order to treat this "institution" as a datum of science or to explain its fundamental value and universal acceptance.

A unit of measure, such as a yard, is another example of a concept which, though often treated as super-organic, may be reduced to the plane of natural science. Conformity to widespread human usage and the feeling of prestige attaching to universal acceptance incline us strongly to believe that that which is universally used and spoken of must be fundamentally real and independent of human experience. Everyone speaks about a yard in so matter of fact a way that we tend naively to accept it as an entity existing in the natural order of things long before men began to weigh and measure, and discovered and adopted by men at some early period of history. Experience, however, when carefully observed reveals no such entity as a yard. We have only spatially extended objects. The notion of "yard" indicates psychologi-

cally *the attitude we take in breaking up such a linear extension into designated parts*. The material scale used for laying off these subdivisions, rather than the abstract notion of "yard," is the thing which designates the length of the parts. We know we are using the right scale because our "yardstick" can be compared at any moment with a standard stick kept at the national capital under carefully controlled conditions of temperature, etc. The fact that we compare our scale with *this particular standard* has, of course, no significance beyond the fact that millions of other persons with whom we may deal can be relied upon to govern their behavior by *the same standard* and apply to it the common term, "yard." It would be difficult therefore to find any substance for the notion of "yard" except of a psychological sort: i.e., the habitual attitudes of individuals in designating, accepting, and using a certain physical object for purposes of measurement.

Professor Judd had brought out clearly the acceptance of units of measure as real things by the untutored mind. This notion belongs in the realm of primitive metaphysics rather than modern science. The child is born into a world where the units of time and space, like paper and silver money, seem to be ultimate realities. He accepts them as phenomena quite divorced from human causation, just as he would accept rocks or trees. Only through critical reflection can these "institutions" be reduced from objective or societal reality to a psychological plane. People in early times, like many moderns, seem not to have made such a critical analysis. And this was no doubt one of the main reasons why there were such notorious and unchallenged discrepancies in the employment of weights and measures. The long standing lack of precise standards and universal enforcement of

their use seems remarkable in modern perspective. Professor Judd has traced the histories of these technological improvements and has shown that only at a relatively recent date have individuals been specially commissioned to give deliberate study to the legal standardization of weights and measures. But he seems to have overlooked the important rôle which the very tendency to reify the institution, or standard of measure, may have played in this delay of standardization.

As long as commodities are measured by a certain definite stick or weight which is carried from place to place such confusion can not occur. But when the unit is conceived as a thing in itself, of which anyone of a class of unstandardized objects, such as the hand or the arm, is accepted as a representation, then measurements are bound to become inexact, because attention has been diverted from the concrete to the abstract. The foot and the ell were so permanently established as objective social realities, of which the human foot or forearm were merely expressions, that it was a long time before our ancestors recognized the fact so obvious to us, namely, that human appendages differ in length, and that the important thing therefore is not the abstract "foot" but the concrete "foot-rule." In order to be approached and studied by the method of natural science, units of precision like the other "institutions" must therefore be defined not upon the societal level, but in terms of the habits or attitudes of the individuals who employ them.

THE RELATION OF INSTITUTIONS TO HUMAN NATURE

In his tendency to ascribe causation to the social pattern or institution as such we find that Professor Judd is in close agreement with cultural determinism. However his concrete psychological analysis

may contradict this theory; in his insistence upon the gap between primitive human nature on the one hand and social institutions upon the other, he leans strongly to the side of such writers as Ogburn and Dewey. Here again a correction is needed from the standpoint of psychology and biology in order to keep the notion of institution within the realm of natural science. We shall consider the relation of institutions to original human nature and the learning process in such elements of culture as language, tools, and industrial organization.

Professor Judd's account of the growth of language deals mainly with the development of language as an ~~entity~~ ^{entity}. Symbols (pictorial and phonetic), syntax, and semantics are thoroughly discussed. The problem of origin, however, and the rôle of face-to-face behavior through which symbolic vocal expression must have originated are neglected. He treats the pattern of language-forms, like other institutions, as a kind of mold into which society compels the individual to be fitted. The institution itself makes for the conformity not only of communication but of the verbal tools with which thinking is largely conducted. While there may be truth in this conception, it neglects certain fundamental aspects. It explains neither the origin of language in the race nor the process by which individuals acquire it. The psychological definition of institutions would require that we consider language to exist essentially in the vocal and writing habits of individuals. And if language is a part of individual behavior, we must expect to find it integrated and having significance with relation to the prepotent (instinctive) needs and the emotional life of the individual. It could not have come into existence without in some way rendering service to these needs. Nor would it be learned by succeeding

generations and maintained in social interaction without its having such a value. A scrutiny of face-to-face groups in which language is being developed, if such were available, would yield important knowledge upon this problem. We should probably find that the necessity of getting reactions from others and adapting our biological needs to the environment through eliciting appropriate behavior from others (social control) were the necessary conditions for the invention and transmission of linguistic behavior.

In the consideration of tools as a part of institutional structure we can attack the cultural argument in its clearest form. Professor Judd maintains that when tools were developed their manufacture and use became institutions far removed from the primitive instinctive and emotional life of mankind. Through tools we pass from mere biological existence into an age dominated by material inventions. The enormous technological specialization and development of modern life seem to be a forceful confirmation of this hypothesis. The fact, however, remains that tools were and are developed in the service of prepotent (instinctive) needs, and would probably not now be used if individuals did not have these needs. Tool culture may be regarded as inventive and learning processes worked out as efferent modifications of the original food seeking and protective responses of the infant. These forms of behavior (tool culture) have become so efficient and so capable of satisfying our wants *before they arise* that their vital connection with the biological and psychological aspects of human nature is often overlooked. As soon, however, as conditions are so altered that tools and allied institutional behavior fail to minister to these needs we find that the original instinctive and emotional behavior of man at once comes forth to dominate the situa-

tion. Fundamental and individual human nature has in fact been active all the time though obscured through the complexity of technical and social organization. We err in ignoring these constant and basic factors merely because modern organization is so stabilized that they rarely come to notice except during a cultural upheaval or crisis.

The entire modern division of industry may be summarized under two heads: (a) performing some one of the adaptive processes into which the entire work of the world has been divided, and (b) getting paid for this work in some medium of exchange and using this medium to satisfy the biological wants and emotional cravings of the worker. Professor Judd himself has formulated this process and indicated its highly developed nature as follows: "These collateral institutions [division of industries] were the primitive form of exchange. The hunter had food in excess of his personal needs. The spear-head maker had stone points but lacked food. It seems very simple in this day, when customs of exchange and the means for carrying on trade are fully established and understood, to suggest that the hunter and the artisan enter into a mutually advantageous relation and exchange their products. For primitive man, wholly unsupplied with money, unsupplied with instruments of measurement, and, above all, unacquainted with the idea of exchange, the situation was by no means so readily adjusted as it is today" (p. 19). Keeping in mind this essential formula of exchange of labor the entire history of industrial institutions might be treated not merely as the advance of technology, but as a progressive specialization of behavior habits whereby the instinctive tendencies of individual life can be better adapted to the environment, and adapted not so much through direct contact with

the raw conditions of nature as through common institutional attitudes and reciprocal adjustment of habits within the group. To say, therefore, that economic culture becomes a super-organic entity divorced from the psychology of the individual and controlling him as if from above is so one sided as to be thoroughly misleading.

The same criticism applies to the artificial separation which the cultural determinist makes between cultural institutions and human nature in the matter of maladjustment. Professor Ogburn has dealt with the general aspects of this problem in his work upon *Social Change*. It has remained, however, for Professor Judd to give a vivid account of the conflict between "individual psychology" and the nature of the industrial institution.⁷ In our age of rapid machine industry and specialization of process the prospect of unemployment produces a constant and harassing anxiety. Old age, failing health, or swings of the business cycle may dislocate the worker suddenly from the industrial organization within which, in modern society, he finds his sole means of earning a living for himself and his family. Fear of such a calamity cannot be released in the normal primitive method, nor can he vent his anger against the thwarting conditions, because there are no tangible stimuli from which he can flee or upon which he can center his attack. The industrial machine is wholly abstract and impersonal. There is no personal enemy or physical obstacle, but only a set of conditions which he can neither understand nor control. The internal secretions and other reinforced emotional energies have therefore no outlet in behavior and can be of no service in solving his problem. Their effect is merely further to reduce his poise and capacity for industrial work, a result which in turn

⁷ *loc. cit.*, ch. 14.

augments his fear. A vicious circle is thus established with whose effects the industrial psychiatrist is only too familiar. It is this sort of situation which Professor Judd has chosen to illustrate his thesis that individual nature and institutions are two separate, and often mutually opposed, realities.

A more helpful approach to this situation, however, seems to the present writer to lie not in a separation of these two factors, but in the recognition that they are both parts, though imperfectly adjusted, of the human organism. It is not tools alone which have produced industrial maladjustment, but also division of labor and super- and sub-ordination of the many persons engaged in the management and craft of the various industries; in other words, individual habits of organization through which the specialized tools of industry can be coordinated. All this as we have shown before is not really an objective social pattern or "new environment" to which the worker must adapt himself, though it has been so described by sociologists. It lies not so much in the environment of men as in the habit systems of men themselves. Psychologically the institution consists of a large number of similar and reciprocating habits of individuals. These habits, like others, have been acquired slowly and are difficult to change except through gradual relearning. Industrial maladjustment can therefore be interpreted not as friction between an objective (super-individual) culture and individual human nature, but as a certain conflict and lack of adaptation of habits within and between individuals, and a failure of the institutionalized reactions perfectly to satisfy the needs of organisms under the conditions in which they live. We are dealing of course with a complex problem. The cultural determinist is correct in saying that without the rapid advance of

technological inventions this lag in the adjustment of the human factor could not have taken place. What he overlooks however is the fact that the institutional habits (within individuals) which make possible the industrial organization of the machine age, are also a necessary part of the picture. That is, industrial maladjustment is as truly a lack of adaptation between the operation of the institutional habits of the individual and his instinctive behavior, as it is between the outer tool culture and his inner instinctive needs.⁸ Hence the conflict may be located upon the psychological plane quite as well as between the psychological and the sociological levels.

Considerations of this sort suggest that the whole problem may be turned about face. Instead of positing institutions as agencies detached from human beings through which society controls individuals, we may regard them as comprised in the similar and reciprocal responses of a large number of individuals.⁹ Institu-

⁸ Professor Ogburn in his *Social Change* takes the position that since human nature is constant, it can be neglected in the elucidation of changes. While this may be true to some extent of biological (innate) aspects of human nature, it is not true of the acquired and changeable aspects. And the institutional habits to which we have referred belong to the latter class. Since they can be changed, and are in fact continually changing, their rôle in the production and solution of cultural maladjustment must not be overlooked. Professor Judd's suggestion of old age pensions as a remedy is a proof of the possibility of altering or supplementing our institutional habits in such a way as to adjust the situation. While Professor Ogburn might refer to this as a cultural rather than a psychological development it can as truly, and, the writer believes, quite as suggestively be dealt with as the latter.

⁹ We should of course include material objects, such as tools, buildings, and records within the scope of the word institution. The ability to use such implements, however, as well as the social organization growing up around them, belongs upon the level of the behavior of individuals.

tions do not form a new level of natural phenomena superseding prepotent (instinctive) behavior, but grow directly out of such behavior through learning and invention. They are in fact merely complex modifications of original responses, and are developed in the process of adapting to a world of natural objects mainly through and with the help of one's fellow men.

Experience seems to show that there are no gaps in nature. Between physics, chemistry, biology and human behavior, there are neither sharp dividing lines nor differences in scientific attitude, experimental attack, or type of generalization. It seems unlikely also that the data of sociology should be in a world apart. It is true that the happenings observed upon the societal level are generally neglected by the "pure" biologist or psychologist. To point out a range and pattern of phenomena which the psychologist and biologist would not by themselves discover, is, in the writer's opinion, the great service which the sociologist can render. This service, on the other hand, changes to a hindrance when the attempt is made to segregate such a field of phenomena from the approach, method, and inductive processes prevalent throughout the other sciences. While it is true that a study of prepotent responses alone will not give us a full understanding of institutional structure, nevertheless such responses set limits outside of which institutions cannot permanently develop. One cannot make a prediction regarding societal development from instinctive behavior alone; but neither can one make such a prediction without it. A balanced treatment would therefore observe a basic identity, rather than a separation, between institutions and the psychology of the individual.¹⁰

¹⁰ The fundamental activities of human nature determine not only the *extent* of institutional spe-

THE "INSTITUTION" AS A WORKING SCIENTIFIC CONCEPT: INSTITU- TIONAL FALLACY

If we have sufficiently demonstrated the need of supplementing the sociological view of institutions by the psychological one, the problem of the future is the development of an approach through units conceived in psychological terms. It is beyond our present competence to predict the nature of such a research or to offer any valuable contribution to its technique. It seems clear however that the first step is to break with traditional usage in the matter of terminology. If we are to investigate institutions as human behavior, our concepts must be more sharply defined and brought into line with the principles underlying denotation in the natural sciences. The biologist has given up the use of metaphor and personification as a principle of explanation. He does not explain the behavior of frogs by reference to the fact that *frogs as a class* behave in a certain manner. The attempt is made always to state the units of explanation in simpler and more specific terms. He may of course *describe* the behavior of frogs as a *class or group*; but he cannot proceed deeply into the problem without a consideration of neuro-muscular and glandular responses and synaptic nervous patterns implanted in the germ cell or developed through learning. In the same manner the social scientist must be more cautious in his use of the notions of social groups, classes, forces, and structures as principles of explanation. He must denote action and agent, movement and function, not in a metaphysical or figurative sense,

cialization; they determine also its *directions*. The fact of a universal culture pattern, described by Professor Wissler shows how intimately the psychology of the human individual is interwoven into the texture which is studied by the ethnologist.

but in the manner of one who is seeking to explain his phenomena through units explicitly verifiable by human observation. In dealing with action of any sort, that is, what is commonly called "cause and effect," he must be careful to specify *concretely* the agent and the recipient. Thus, to say that "society controls the individual" is an assertion of a metaphysical character and out of keeping with the approach we are here proposing. To indicate exactly who or what it is that does the controlling, who is controlled, and how the controlling is brought about in terms of a specific and concrete event would be to make a statement quite in harmony with the method of natural science. Vague and misleading also is the usage of treating institutions, in a reified or personified way, as agents of social control. The "state" or the "church" never really acted upon any object, controlled any individual, or framed any policy. It was only popes, churchmen, or rulers who, supported by obedient attitudes of citizens or worshippers, performed such acts. For such attempts to invest institutions with power to move and act as entities in the world of natural phenomena we need some distinctive name. The writer would suggest for this purpose the term "*institutional fallacy*."

It should be made clear that we are not here discrediting all use of the notion of institution. Institutions in the sociological sense are descriptive categories which have a real value in pointing out ranges of human phenomena which the isolated laboratory psychologist would never see. Their greatest usefulness, however, can be secured only by recognizing their limitations. "Institution" is a descriptive term. To use it, or any of its variants or types, as a principle of explanation will involve the user in the fallacy of attempt-

ing to change words into things. Explanation, as in all scientific work, must consist of description *upon a lower, (i.e., in this case, psychological) plane*. It is not necessarily a fallacy to use the notion of "groups" or "institutions" merely as a convenient mode of speaking; but it *is* fallacious to speak of them as causing something, acting upon something, or being acted upon, thus concealing the fact that they exist (in the sense of natural science) only in the behaviors of individual human beings.¹¹

Institutional fallacies in the literature of social science will be found to be exceedingly numerous and varied. To point them out, the writer believes, is a service to the refinement of sociological method.¹²

¹¹ For further discussions by the present writer dealing with various aspects of the "group" and "institutional" fallacies consult the following:

"The Group Fallacy in Relation to Social Science," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, April-June, 1924. (Also reprinted by the Sociological Press, Hanover, N. H.)

"The Group Fallacy in Relation to Culture," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. XIX, July-September, 1924.

"Social Change: An Analysis of Professor Ogburn's Culture Theory," *Journal of Social Forces*, 1924, Vol. II, 671-676.

"The Psychological Nature of Political Structure," *American Political Science Review*, August, 1927.

"The Psychology of Nationalism," *Harper's*, August, 1927.

¹² The following examples of institutional fallacy are taken for convenience from Judd's *Psychology of Social Institutions*, with italics by the present writer. They are by no means characteristic of the entire book; and the reader should be cautioned against the unfair impression which their selection might convey. The institutional fallacy, moreover, far from being limited to Professor Judd, may be found in the writings of many sociologists and political scientists.

"Government, for example, is a *device* which *social intelligence* has evolved to direct and check human behavior so that there shall be harmony within the group" (p. 4). "*Every social institution* becomes in this way not merely the *embodiment of an idea* or tendency which brought it into being, but a *force*

It is perhaps unjust to call every instance of group or institutional reification a fallacy. Their users would doubtless maintain in most cases that they were intended only as metaphorical. It is sur-

prising however how the application of institutional and group metaphors tends to lapse over into literal acceptance, and to pass from concept to cause, from description to explanation. Our objection is not merely that such usage is unfruitful in itself. The word institution has a plausible but specious ring of authority. Many persons (scholars as well as laymen) accept it with their desire for explanation satisfied. Further, investigation is not thought necessary; hence the social situation remains unanalyzed and the important factors undiscovered. The institutional concept has been used to conceal a rich field of scientific data and to stifle the advancement of research. Clearly then our first task in fostering a psychological approach to this field is to subject much of the terminology of social science to a thorough revision.

influencing the consciousness and behavior of all who come into contact with it" (p. 65). "The institution is not the group but it is the product of cumulative group action and the source of group influence" (p. 75). "Money dominates individual behavior and in so far as it does, we are justified in saying that the group, through its institutions, exercises control over the individual" (p. 75). "The fact is that the will of the group has become so influential in guiding individual behavior that even when social judgment expresses itself, not in statutes, but in that much vaguer form known as public opinion, it operates powerfully to limit and direct the activities of citizens" (p. 322). "Men start with a few words and phrases and as soon as they master these they deposit the results of their common thinking and common behavior in institutions such as religious belief or customs of courtesy" (p. 214).

THE LITERARY QUEST FOR UTOPIA, 1880-1900

ALLYN B. FORBES

I

RECENT years have seen a marked development of interest in the social and cultural phases of American life. Historians, leaving more familiar paths, together with specialists in other fields, have been re-examining and re-interpreting our past in the light of hitherto unappreciated or unknown forces, with the result that it is possible to-day to see American history in a fuller perspective than has ever before been the case. Of these new fields for investigation none has received ampler recognition than that of literary history. Yet, extensive as have been the explorations in this direction, there appears to be at least one cor-

ner, that of American Utopian novels, which has been passed over practically unheeded. Here and there a cursory reference to Edward Bellamy or to William Dean Howells' venture in this type of literature sums up what has been said on this subject.

The more important fact would seem to be that a flood of such writings appeared in America in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, although American authors had never hitherto allowed their imaginations to play with the theme. Though the lack of literary merit of many of these novels may perhaps justify their neglect at the hands of literary historians, the mere number of them is sufficient to testify to their significance in the social

and intellectual life of the period. The facts presented in this article, though not based upon a complete examination of the romances—some of which have entirely disappeared from view—seem to warrant certain conclusions of significance to the student both of literature and of social history.

II

The dates of publication of these novels suggest the course of treatment to be followed. It was in the mid-eighties that the main stream appeared, assuming large proportions in the nineties: five in 1890, eight in 1891, five in 1892, three in 1893, seven in 1894, three in 1895, one in 1896, three in 1897, five in 1898, one in 1899, and four in 1900.¹

It was in these same two decades that the process of industrialization which the Civil War did so much to accelerate first reached such large dimensions as to be the greatest single determining factor in all phases of American life. The increase in urbanization reached the point where it was challenging the attention of all serious thinkers. With population expanding at a constantly greater rate, the proportion constituting a laboring class was coming to be a steadily larger part of the whole. At the same time another factor of the utmost importance was injected into the situation. The year 1890 marked the official passing of the frontier, and with it went that solvent for social ills which had made American development during the preceding two and one-half centuries virtually unique in history.

As a direct consequence of these changes there came into existence the most urgent as well as the most perplexing problems of the late nineteenth century. The rela-

tions between capital and labor became critical in a way that had never before been known. First through the Knights of Labor, then through its successor, the American Federation of Labor, the working classes showed a startling degree of class-consciousness and a determination to secure a betterment of conditions that only the utmost tact and conciliation could prevent from gravely endangering the whole national life. Unfortunately, there was little disposition to deal with the labor problem in this manner, with the result that there occurred strikes mounting literally into the thousands, often attended with bloodshed and the destruction of property.

Nor was it Labor alone that was in distress. From the west came persistent clamors for relief. Pointing with one hand to steadily falling prices and with the other to accumulating debts, the farmers demanded a thorough-going revision of the monetary system from which should come, among other things, a currency inflation that would insure better selling prices and facilitate the payment of their obligations. Closely allied with these two major issues was a host of other reform projects, all of which were able to command a wide following. Notable among these were Henry George's single-tax movement and the anti-monopoly agitation which culminated in the Interstate Commerce and the Sherman Anti-Trust Acts.

Because the last quarter of the nineteenth century was one of profound disquiet and dissatisfaction, it followed, not unnaturally, that it was a period marked by numerous attempts to discover an escape from the conditions that existed. Such an explanation accounts for whatever hold Socialism was able to get in this country. Alien as the Marxian principles have always been to the distinctively

¹ See bibliography appended to this article for a full list, 1884-1900.

American temperament, they proved to be not wholly without appeal when transplanted to this country after the Civil War. From 1877 on, the Socialist Labor Party played a part in American politics, while throughout the rest of the century Socialist leaders attempted to secure control of the new working-class movement. A similar explanation underlies the series of agrarian movements culminating in Populism, which had such a profound influence upon the course of nineteenth century American politics.

Less practical, perhaps, but possessing an immense attraction as a means of fleeing from reality was literature. That American idealists should have resorted so extensively in the eighties and nineties to this form of expression is in itself an interesting fact, but it acquires added significance when it is borne in mind that this was not the first time that the United States had come into close contact with a Utopian movement. The three decades before the Civil War had seen the rise and fall of a form of Utopianism which in its prime had drawn into it a considerable number of the American people. Its inspiration was European, coming from the writings of men like Cabet and Fourier and from American interpreters like Brisbane in his *Social Destiny of Man*. Its application was the contribution of the United States, where the vast extent of cheap public lands afforded conditions ideal for carrying out the foreign theories.

There was not, however, a similar outlet for the Utopian aspirations of the late nineteenth century since the supply of desirable public land had been virtually exhausted. Moreover, increasing industrialization had had its effect in the rapid spread of city life, which destroyed the degree of isolation necessary for the success of such communities as had been established in the earlier period. As a

matter of fact, by the end of the Civil War all the communities except those distinctly religious in their nature had already disappeared.² They had been failures, partly because the idealism of their founders had not been inherited in sufficient measure by their successors, but more because they had been compelled to make contacts with the outside world and to adopt much of its competitive methods.

These facts would account in a negative way for the abandonment of "applied Utopianism" and for an increasing resort to the less hazardous pleasures of vicarious participation through the pages of novels. More positive elements, however, also entered into the situation. The great increase in the number of libraries as well as of the volumes on their shelves between 1880 and 1890 indicates the considerable growth of a reading public. In any case, the marked growth of the novel's popularity, frequently pointed out by students of American literature, was one of the outstanding developments in this country during this period. It is also true that the fiction of those years dealt to an increasing extent with the new problems that were vexing society.

When all these factors are taken into consideration, it does not seem at all surprising that the Utopian novel should have proved to be a popular medium through which the idealism of the eighties and the nineties attempted to express itself. Nor can there be much doubt that this tendency was one quite apart from any foreign influence. Samuel Butler's *Erewhon* (1872) is the only European novel of a Utopian character that could have had enough circulation in this country before the American stream of them set in to have prompted imitation. Between it, however, and the American novels there

² Noyes, John Humphrey, *History of American Socialisms* (Philadelphia, 1870), p. 655.

is no point of agreement strong enough to suggest a direct connection.

What, then, was the nature of this American literary Utopianism? To what extent does it bear any relation to the conditions that prevailed when it took form?

III

The first of this group of romances was Alfred Denton Cridge's *Utopia; or the History of an Extinct Planet*, which was published in 1884.³ Here there is presented within the compass of a few pages the story of the growth of a human society from the lowest type of civilization to that of modern industrialism, of the violent class struggles attendant upon the last stage of its development, and of the social order that prevailed when once the party of reform had defeated its enemies. All but the faintest trace of private enterprise disappeared. The worker was no longer regarded as an employee but as a part-owner in all that his community controlled. Labor was, to be sure, compulsory for all, but it was not considered toil or slavery, for now only idleness was a disgrace. Equal wealth was accepted as the proof of strength and prosperity. Money still existed, but the degree to which it was to fluctuate was rigidly determined by law. At the same time it was written into the constitution that "no private debt shall ever be considered binding or have any standing in law or justice, and no public debt shall ever be incurred for any object or under any circumstances."⁴ Under such a regime

society flourished as never before, and it entered upon an era of unparalleled advance in science, art, and literature. Justice everywhere prevailed, but so little law was needed that people hardly ever heard of it.

Two years later, in 1886, there appeared Henry F. Allen's anonymous work, *The Key of Industrial Coöperative Government*. One theme runs persistently throughout this book: the attempt to reconcile the principle of isolated, selfish endeavor with a peaceful condition of society is a moral impossibility; for under an individualistic regime the way necessarily involves a conflict of interests and is marked by constantly recurring social failures. Hence in the new order every kind of competitive enterprise disappeared, and in its place was introduced the principle of coöperation. In short, the nationalization of all the functions of production and distribution was his scheme. Coupled with this was compulsory labor, the products of which went into a common fund from which each was supplied according to his wants. Thus was it possible to do away with money and that virtual enslavement of the many to the few which money always caused. Drastic as were the changes effected, they were achieved peacefully through the ordinary processes of legislation. The slightest trace of a spirit of revenge or of violence would have kept alive those very forces of destruction which it was intended to check.

Two years after Allen's novel came Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, probably the only one of these Utopias of which even the memory has survived, and unquestionably the one which in its own time exerted the widest influence. That a person with Bellamy's equipment should have written a book that received the serious consideration of hundreds of thousands of readers may strike one as strange.

³ Coming in the late eighteen-sixties are two Utopias which may be regarded as the faint foreshadowing of the later movement: *The Philosopher of Fousfouville*, which appeared in 1868 under the *nom de plume* of Radical Freelance, Esquire, and Edward Everett Hale's *Sybaris and Other Homes*, published in 1869.

⁴ Cridge, Alfred Denton, *Utopia; or the History of an Extinct Planet* (Oakland, California, 1884), p. 19.

At this stage of his career, at least, he made no pretense of being in any sense of the word a student of economics. He had had, to be sure, a partial college education; he had had some experience as a journalist, and had also met with some success as a novelist. His views on the social problems of his day were not, however, the result of what would to-day be called trained observation or inquiry. Bellamy even denied that he had any affiliation with the more or less radical organizations of the time. He did, however, have a keen sense of justice, a quality perhaps attributable to the fact that as a clergyman's son he grew up in an environment where non-material values were constantly stressed. Possibly it was the combination of this very quality with his layman's attitude that was the secret of his success.

The social order revealed in *Looking Backward* revolved around one central fact: "the nation was organized as the one great business corporation in which all other corporations were absorbed; it became the one capitalist in the place of all other capitalists, the sole employer, the final monopoly in which all previous and lesser monopolies were swallowed up, a monopoly in the profits and economies of which all citizens shared. The Epoch of Trusts had ended in the Great Trust."⁶ This change, moreover, was adopted without force; for the people through their long experience with individual trusts had become convinced of the validity of the basic principles of such a system.

As a corollary of this major proposition there occurred a complete revamping of the organization of labor. All between the ages of twenty-one and forty-five, women as well as men, were required to become members of the Industrial Army.

⁶ Bellamy, Edward, *Looking Backward, 2000-1887* (Boston and New York, 1888), p. 56.

The principle of compulsory military service was thus applied to the uses of peaceful public service. As a member of the Industrial Army, "a man's natural endowment, mental and physical" determined what he could work at "most profitably to the nation and most satisfactorily to himself."⁶ By adopting as a criterion of the relative attractiveness of any kind of labor the rate at which volunteers for it appeared, it was possible to remedy inequalities by varying the number of hours of labor required. In the rare instances where this device might fail, the deficit could always be made up by declaring any given occupation "extra hazardous" and those engaging in it "especially worthy of the national gratitude."

The wage system was abolished, and in its place was adopted the policy of giving to each worker an equal share in the national wealth. The principle underlying this was that the deciding factor in determining what anyone should receive for his work should be merely his deserts, and that this could be measured only in terms of his efforts. "All men who do their best do the same."⁷

Moreover, in place of the familiar forms of currency, there were introduced what were known as credit cards. Issued annually and representing an equal share of the national wealth, they were given to every citizen, including those who had already served their term in the Industrial Army. Though they did not constitute a circulating medium, they were needed for all purchases at the government storehouses, the value of the goods bought being checked off on the cards. But they were not transferable, and normally any surplus at the end of the year was turned back to the national account. There was no longer any need for encouraging the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

once vaunted virtue of thrift. In this Utopian age "the nation guarantees the nurture, education, and comfortable maintenance of every citizen from the cradle to the grave."⁸

Such were the outstanding features in Bellamy's so-called Nationalism. The effects of it upon society were everywhere evident. It was an age of unparalleled intellectual glory, without equal for mechanical invention, scientific discovery, and artistic and literary productiveness. All the nineteenth century social problems vanished before his very eyes. There was, of course, no room for poverty. With the disappearance of inequalities of wealth there went every motive for crime, and prisons gave way to hospitals. With the abolition of inheritance there went all the problems of an hereditary plutocracy. In short, life in *Looking Backward* was one of perfect harmony, with all its energies—material, moral, and intellectual—released and devoted to the common good.

The popular success which Bellamy achieved throws considerable light upon the Utopian novels which were soon to follow. By December, 1889, *Looking Backward* was said to be already in its 210th thousand and selling at the rate of over 10,000 copies a week.⁹ Eight months later it was advertised as being in its 352nd thousand. Nor does this sum up the whole of Bellamy's influence. A more tangible result was the organization of Nationalist Clubs for the express purpose of spreading Bellamy's gospel. The first of these was formed in Boston in 1888. By 1891 there were one hundred sixty-three, extending to the Pacific coast.¹⁰ As a part of this same movement, the Bos-

ton club published a monthly periodical, *The Nationalist*, which in the short time of its existence built up a considerable circulation. Thus did Bellamy's name become a household word throughout the country. Nor is it unlikely that his success encouraged others to attempt the same kind of thing.

Some typical cases will illustrate the trend of the Utopian romances that came after *Looking Backward*. Of particular interest is *Caesar's Column* by Ignatius Donnelly, which appeared in 1890. Probably no other writer of this group played an important part for so long a time in the reform agitations of the nineteenth century. For several years he was president of the State Farmers' Alliance of Minnesota. In 1876 he was presiding officer of the National Anti-Monopoly Convention that nominated Peter Cooper for president. For five years he published at Minneapolis a reform journal known as *The Representative*. In 1900 he was nominated by the People's Party for the vice-presidency.

The same spirit that is indicated by these activities is reflected in *Caesar's Column*. The greater part of the story is taken up by a vivid account of the downfall of civilization in the closing years of the twentieth century, a calamity caused by the outbreak of class war. On the one side there was the plutocracy, who had in the course of years drawn into their hands all the agencies of social control and were ruthlessly exploiting the masses, relying upon physical terror as a means of thwarting any attack. On the other side was the proletariat, sullen and bestial, bound together in a secret organization, international in scope and prepared to seize the first opportunity to overthrow the existing order by force, the only weapon, as they realized, that was left to them. With such a situation conflict was inevitable.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁹ Willard, Cyrus Field, "A Retrospect," *The Nationalist*, vol. ii (December, 1899), p. 40.

¹⁰ *The Nationalist*, vol. iii (February, 1891), p. 505.

Donnelly traces its course to the end, not allowing gruesomeness to stand in the way of any detail. At the finish chaos reigned. Once the original goal had been reached and the plutocracy exterminated, the mob became suspicious of its own leaders and turned upon them with devastating results.

There were, however, a few specific remedies suggested for a society in which these evils are still in a germinal state. For instance, the proposal was made to wipe out all laws, customs, or conditions which in any way gave one man an advantage over another or which tended to concentrate the wealth of the community in the hands of a few. Other cures indicated were the establishment of a legal limit to the size of individual land holdings, the abolishing of all corporations and the substitution for them of partnerships, the enactment of a law requiring that a man's whole property beyond a fixed maximum be invested in social enterprises for the special benefit of the working classes, the adoption of a paper currency which would have an international circulation and which would be based on "all the property of the civilized world."¹¹ As Donnelly summed it up, "we have but to expand the powers of government to solve the enigma of the world."¹²

One of the Utopias published in 1891 was *Beyond the Bourne*, written by Amos K. Fiske, a Harvard graduate, for many years associated in journalism with George Ticknor Curtis, and for twenty-two years a member of the editorial staff of the *New York Times*. Fiske was evidently in perfect sympathy with Bellamy's ultimate ideal but was afraid of some of Bellamy's all-important propositions. For instance,

¹¹ Donnelly, Ignatius, *Caesar's Column* (Chicago, 1890), p. 124.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

he rejected the idea of an equal distribution of wealth on the ground that it would dull individual initiative and produce a dead level of uniformity. In one place he showed a deep distrust of the policy of nationalization and preferred to achieve his goal through the training of character and the actual practice of the principles of justice. In another place, however, he provided for public control of "all appliances of common use," and in yet another for the abolition of all private property in land. Whatever may have been the confusion in his mind on those points, he was in other respects thoroughly convinced as to what would follow once his ideal was attained. As soon as society had discovered that each one's happiness depended upon his taking care that others had the same chance, poverty, ignorance, and crime soon departed.

Another novel that appeared in the same year was Chauncey Thomas's *The Crystal Button*. Thomas apparently felt much the same confusion as did Fiske as to the means by which his ideal might be reached. By placing all his emphasis upon higher ethical standards and an informed public opinion as the means of eradicating injustice, he seemed to think that he could avoid all semblance of being revolutionary. Life in his Utopia had, however, many things in common with those already discussed. There was, for instance, government operation of all means of communication and nationalization of land with leases to individual occupants. Again, heavy income taxes were imposed for the avowed purpose of striking at inequalities of wealth. Probably borrowed from Bellamy, but not worked out in such detail, was the suggestion of a sort of Industrial Army. The keystone of his scheme was the substitution for a gold currency of one based upon the world's surplus of food products, distributed each decade in pro-

portion to the world's population. Thus was the element of speculation destroyed, and with the passion for getting money removed, all social relations could be re-organized on the highest possible moral plane.

One of the most interesting of these Utopias is Henry Olerich's *A Cityless and Countryless World* (1894). The key which this writer offered for unlocking the difficulties of society was the idea of "Practical Coöperative Individualism." In the first place, the distribution of population between urban and rural districts was done away with. Instead, the country was marked off into rectangular tracts twenty-four miles by six, known as "communities." Along the borders of each of these rectangles there were erected what were known as "big houses," each accommodating a thousand people who thus constituted a "family." In addition to these enlarged dwellings each community had its quota of mills, factories, and warehouses. Manufacturing at each of these establishments was carried on on a large scale, always in accordance with the nature of the resources peculiar to each area. Distribution of the surplus between the various communities was effected, without profit, through the agency of community business houses. Each community was also in part devoted to agriculture, the products being similarly handled. By the very nature of the case, private ownership of land was not permitted. Such were the coöperative features of the scheme.¹³

The individualist element appeared in the arrangements as to currency and labor. The idea of money as a single commodity was abandoned. The only medium of exchange recognized was "labor checks" which represented the amount of each

person's work, measured in time units. This was based on a double principle: that no one should be entitled to what he had not earned through his own productive labor; and that the amount of the medium of exchange should equal that of the actually existing wealth. Thus was abolished both that type of capitalism resulting from the ability of some to gain a monopoly and also all forms of interest. By the same device all were stimulated to activity since each had to work for his own support, and the more he did, the more he got.

William Dean Howells' contribution to Utopian literature, *A Traveller from Altruria*, came in 1894. The traveller traces the advance of the capitalist system in his homeland through the stage of free competition to the point where it frankly entered upon a career of monopoly, demanding and securing the protection of the State on the ground that the public good depended upon its being free from interference. In time, the laboring classes, wearying of the sufferings to which they were subjected, created a counter-organization which eventually came to include all the workers. At the crucial moment, when actual warfare between these two seemed inevitable, labor abandoned its traditional weapon, the strike, and turned to political action. With its forces concentrated against this one weak spot in the enemy's defenses, a complete victory was soon won. Nationalization of all forms of business was secured without having to use any but peaceful measures.

The entire economic structure was changed to bring everything into line with what had been accomplished. Through the scrapping of a large part of the railroad system, which had hitherto been disastrously destructive, a blow was struck at the huge urban centers which had grown up in its wake. This in turn made

¹³ Certain phases of this scheme seem to be reminiscent of Fourierism.

possible a complete revision of the conditions of labor. Work was made obligatory for all. The few hours required of each one each day were divided between industrial and agricultural activities. The latter were considered particularly important for their moral effect. It was thought that thus one's sense of the divine presence would be strengthened, and that through the increased love of one's home the ceaseless unrest of former times could be curbed. Money, too, could now be abolished. It was reasoned that as now no one worked for another, no one need pay another. Each did his share of the nation's labor, and each should receive an equal share of the nation's wealth.

The results that followed from these changes were such as have been seen in the other Utopias. Nationalization and the disuse of money had removed the greatest single source of social injustice—speculation. Crime, the inevitable consequence of the institution of private property, disappeared. Labor was emancipated. In short, merely because it had been genuinely believed to be possible, a virtual Kingdom of Heaven had been realized upon earth.

The last of this series of Utopias is Albert A. Merrill's *The Great Awakening*, published in 1899. In this case the central feature was the change in the monetary system which nineteenth century conditions had made necessary. The theory of finance then current, which had made gold the sole basis of the currency, was a fundamental source of injustice. Those who had controlled the gold were, in general, creditors, and in order to keep the debtor in debt as long as possible, they had manipulated that commodity to their advantage. They had even been able to drain the national treasury of gold at will, forcing the government to resort to bond issues at immense profit to themselves.

Directly or indirectly, they had succeeded in virtually enslaving the great mass of the people.

In the so-called "Money Republic" this old system was abandoned, and in its place there was introduced a currency based upon the total amount of wealth in existence. This proved to be the best possible device; for since the supply of the circulating medium was unlimited, it ceased to have any value in and of itself. Each month, on the basis of statistics as to the production of wealth during that period, the supply of money was increased, divided equally except for such as had done no work.

With this as a starting point other changes inevitably appeared. Labor was not made compulsory, but the result was the same. Everyone realized that the only way to acquire wealth was through his own productive activities. Another important consequence was the disappearance of cities, and with them went the problems characteristic of urban life. Humanity itself was transformed. Three or four generations of equally divided wealth and plenty of leisure destroyed the environment that produced inferior types. The new order made it possible for those instincts most elevating to the human race, such as sympathy and love, to dominate those which manifest a desire for mere self-preservation.

IV

What conclusions in regard to this wave of Utopian literature can be drawn from this survey? A brief summary of the main points that these books advance suggests an answer. All of them conceive of the problems of society as economic ones, and hence the solutions are framed in similar terms. Bellamy, Howells, and Merrill might, by virtue of their provision for the equal distribution of wealth, be

classed as communistic. The others are certainly socialistic, although they vary considerably as to the degree to which they carry out the socialist program. At the same time it should be noticed that none of these men foresee or advocate the attainment of their goal through the use of force. Moreover, the terms "socialism" and "communism," both of which were in current use, do not appear in these books. This omission suggests how far these writers were from being allied with the extreme left wing of the reform movement, even though there was much in the end sought that was common to both elements.

As to the evils attacked other than those implied in their resort to socialist doctrine, there is a considerable agreement among these novelists. Most common are the monetary system and the wrongs attendant upon urbanization. Frequent reference to the institution of inheritance is found, as is also the case with the question of land-holding. All these common elements were, it might be noted, also the commonplaces of the Populist agitation and, to a lesser extent, of the socialist agitation of the period.

As to the authors themselves, information is too incomplete to make safe any sweeping generalizations. At the same time it is clear that a considerable part in this movement was taken by men in the upper ranks of society, men who by training or position were qualified to give force to their opinions and to obtain a hearing for them.

That they were influenced mainly by the contemporary conditions seems evident. It is equally clear that they must be regarded as one wing of the reform movement of those years—literary out-riders. At the same time, however, they were much alarmed at the methods employed by many would-be reformers actually in

the thick of the fray. Most particularly was this true in the case of what labor was trying to do. They saw in the strike and in other acts of violence nothing but ultimate disaster for all concerned.

Hence they turned to the Utopian novel to spread another idea—that the same objects could be more surely won through peaceful means. Political rather than direct action was the source of salvation. But these men were making yet another appeal. They were trying to reach the great mass of the middle class and, by convincing them that the ends sought really concerned the common welfare, to win them over to a course of action that would make possible a just and lasting solution of the problem.

The modern reader's reaction to these Utopias may be merely one of mild amusement. For the people for whom they were written, living at a time when the problems of industrialism were not commonplaces, they offered material for serious consideration. That they were received in this light, whatever their lasting effect may have been, is evidenced by the nation-wide fame which Bellamy won.

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THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL THOUGHT: A CONSENSUS OF AMERICAN OPINION

HORNELL HART¹

THE student who wishes to prepare for advanced examinations in the field of sociology is in a quandary. Not only is there the greatest diversity of opinion as to the scope, the essential principles and the conclusions of his science, but there is no agreement as to which writers should be included among the authorities to be studied.² For example, Park and Burgess, in their *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* cite Georg Simmel 40 times. Simmel is included in the course on the history of sociology at Columbia, but is not mentioned in the prospectuses at Missouri, Wellesley or the University of London; he is ignored by Lichtenberger in his *Development of Social Theory* and by Bogardus in his *History of Social Thought*, and is given very minor attention by Case in his *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*. Case cites Ross 30 times, as compared with 3 citations of Simmel; Park and Burgess cite Ross 7 times as compared with 40 citations of Simmel. W. I. Thomas is cited 34 times by Park and Burgess, and 22 times by Case, but is not mentioned by Lichtenberger. Disagreements of this sort are typical, not exceptional.

Confronted with such contradictory valuations, the student is apt either to be completely at sea, or else to adopt the bias of whatever school of sociology he happens to be most closely in contact with.

The writers of the present article have proceeded on the theory that it is possible to determine approximately what is the

consensus of opinion as to the relative importance of various contributions to the development of social thought. In order to arrive at an objective basis for selecting the people generally regarded in the United States as having made the most significant contributions to the growth of sociology, lists have been compiled³ of the sociologists whose work is discussed in the courses on sociology at the universities of London, Columbia, and Missouri, and at Wellesley, of those discussed in the histories of sociology by Bogardus, Lichtenberger and Small, of those referred to in the indices of Small's *General Sociology*, of Giddings' *Studies in the Theory of Human Society*, Bushee's *Principles of Sociology*, and Dealey's *Sociology—Its Development and Applications*, of those whose names appear in the indices of the books of readings by Carver, Case, and Park and Burgess, of those listed in the bibliographies on sociology in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and the *New International Encyclopaedia*, and of those discussed in Bliss's *New Encyclopedia of Social Reform*. Two points are given for being listed in any one of the courses mentioned, and one point for being in the encyclopedia bibliographies; for the other main sources names are classified into two groups, those given major emphasis and those given minor emphasis, with two points credit for the former and one for the latter. Under this scheme the maximum possible score is 30 points. Social thinkers receiving two or more points are listed at the end of this article.

¹ In collaboration with Anne Morrison, Harriet Ahlers, Mary Bell, Elizabeth Evans, Mildred Fairchild, Gertrude Schmidt, and Twila Neely.

² See discussion under the "Search After Values."
—EDITOR.

³ A considerable part of the work involved in compiling and scoring this list was done by Miss Anne Morrison.

Any such ranking as this must have serious limitations. The positions of living men may be revised as their work continues and they are more fully appreciated. The inclusion of other authorities in making up the scores would alter positions—particularly those toward the lower end of the list. French, German and even English authorities would present quite different ratings. Above all, it is to be hoped that fuller understanding of sociology may give us a sounder set of values. The present analysis is offered, therefore, simply as a step toward an understanding of the present status, and with the hope that it may soon be superseded by a better piece of work.

The above ranking cannot be passed over, however, without calling attention to the position assigned to Jesus. Even when all references to the word "Christian" are counted, the total score given to the social teachings of Jesus is 23 per cent of the possible maximum, as compared with 33 per cent for Machiavelli, 40 for Karl Marx, 50 for Plato, and 57 for Aristotle. It may be objected that Jesus was not a sociologist. The question is debatable, but even if he were not a sociologist, neither was Darwin, and Darwin receives 53 per cent of the possible maximum score. Judged from the amount of attention devoted to the thinkers in this list by the authorities on the history of sociology, the social teachings of Jesus are regarded as of relatively minor importance. None of the four courses in the history of sociology lists Jesus among the social teachers to be discussed; he is ignored by Park and Burgess, by Bushee, Carver, Dealey, and Small. Case gives him only minor mention.

This neglect, however, is not unanimous. Lichtenberger devotes one of his fifteen chapters to Christianity, and gives additional space to St. Thomas, Luther and Calvin. Bliss gives more than double

the space to Jesus that he gives to any other social thinker in the list. Bogardus devotes two of his 28 chapters to "Early Christian Social Thought" and "The Sociology of Modern Christianity." He says that in the teachings of Jesus "there are fundamental social principles, which, if put into common practice, would solve all social problems."

After discovering which social *thinkers* are generally conceded to have made the most significant contributions to the development of sociology, the next thing which the advanced student is likely to want to know is what points in the *teachings* of these men have come to be generally regarded as of primary importance. As a step toward determining the consensus of opinion on this question, the Bryn Mawr Seminar in Social Relations for 1926-1927 has made a special study of the 32 social thinkers receiving the highest scores in the list. The men were divided among the students. Articles about them in the sources from which the scores were compiled, and in other sources, were consulted, and record was made of the amount of attention given to the various points in the teachings of each. Having arrived at the consensus of opinion as to the most important items, the next step was to compile a brief summary of the teachings on these points, as interpreted by outstanding authorities. The resulting abstracts have been boiled down into the following epitomes.

Each epitome contains the following items in the same order. Name; score on our scale, stated as a percentage of possible maximum score; works of outstanding sociological significance; dates between which most important works were published; points most generally regarded as sociologically important in his teachings; sources where a fuller summary may be found.

PLATO. 50 per cent. *The Republic*. 427-

367 B.C. Used the biological analogy. Said society is based on division of labor. Advocated aristocracy based on ability, full development of all personalities, woman suffrage, and eugenics. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Lichtenberger, pp. 3-28.

ARISTOTLE. 57 per cent. *Politics*; *Ethics*. 384-322 B.C. Used inductive method. Man is a social animal. The family, state and property are natural, not artificial. Advocated aristocracy of ability, slavery, eugenics, public education, avoidance of wealth motivation. William Ellis, *A Treatise on Government*; Lichtenberger, pp. 33-52; Bogardus, pp. 101-13.

JESUS. 23 per cent. Preached an unfolding Kingdom of Heaven, based on love to Father God and to brother men. Reacted against centering of religion in beliefs, forms and ceremonies; insisted that a perfect human order depends upon an inner attitude. Bliss; Lichtenberger, pp. 73-91; Bogardus, pp. 121-44; 451-74.

NICCOLO MACHIAVELLI. 33 per cent. *The Prince*. 1469-1527 A.D. Used inductive method. Urged pursuing welfare of the state without moral scruple. Bliss; *Britannica*; Carver, pp. 764-81; Lichtenberger, pp. 128-48.

JEAN BODIN. 27 per cent. *A method for the Easy Understanding of History*; *Six Books of the Republic*. 1566-76. Social evolution is affected by climate. Social organization arises from common interests and from the pleasure and utility of association. Lichtenberger, pp. 165-74.

THOMAS HOBBS. 43 per cent. *Leviathan*. 1642-54. Men in natural state were egoistic, self-centered. War of each against all resulted. To escape horrors of conflict men create, by mutual contract, the state—a "Leviathan." *Britannica*; Park and Burgess, pp. 25, 29, 106, 140, 512, 614.

JOHN LOCKE. 43 per cent. *Essay Concerning Toleration*; *Treatise on Civil Govern-*

ment; *Essay on Human Understanding*. 1666-90. Men, in peaceful state of nature, came together by voluntary social contract for the sake of the advantages of organization, but without abrogating their natural rights. Locke founded empiricism, denying innate ideas. He advocated toleration. Bliss; Lichtenberger, pp. 187-92, 195-8; Willoughby, *The Nature of the State*, pp. 74-5, 84-5.

MONTESQUIEU. 43 per cent. *The Spirit of the Laws*. 1748. Social relations are subject to natural law. They grow from an innate tendency toward association, not from a social contract. Culture and behavior result directly from geographical and climatic conditions. Montesquieu abandoned speculation for concrete observation. Lichtenberger, pp. 217-32; *Britannica*.

JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU. 47 per cent. *Emile*; *The Social Contract*; *Discourse on Inequality*. 1754-1762. Man is born free and politically equal, in an ideal state of nature. The growth of wealth and population destroys freedom and brings vice and crime. The Social Contract reconciles individual liberty and social solidarity by creating the sovereign General Will of the People. Lichtenberger, pp. 190-2, 198-203; Bogardus, pp. 182-84; Bliss.

ADAM SMITH. 50 per cent. *Theory of Moral Sentiments*; *Wealth of Nations*. 1759-1776. Laissez-faire: personal interest leads to social well-being. Sympathy, putting the self in the place of the other, and the desire to share experiences, are vital to progress. Social conflicts arise between those who live by rent, by wages and by profits. Park and Burgess, pp. 397-401, 550-1; Small, *Origins of Sociology*, pp. 136-46.

T. R. MALTHUS. 50 per cent. *Population*. 1798-1803. Population tends to outrun the means of subsistence; it is kept down by positive and preventive checks.

Poor relief multiplies the number of poor; education promotes preventive checks. Bliss; Lichtenberger, pp. 271-4.

SAINT-SIMON. 27 per cent. 1808. Forerunner of Comte and Marx. Lichtenberger, pp. 240-3; Bliss.

AUGUSTE COMTE. 83 per cent. *Positive Philosophy*. 1830-52. Sociology crowns the hierarchy of sciences. All thought passes through three states: theological, metaphysical and positivistic or scientific. He urged observation and classification of social data, with mathematics as the best tool. "Know in order to foreknow." Order and progress, the static and dynamic phases of human association, need harmonizing. He developed a humanitarian philosophy, emphasizing sympathy, and originated a non-theological religion of humanity. He regarded women as intellectually subordinate to men. He made use of the biological analogy. Bogardus, pp. 209-25; Lichtenberger, pp. 236-62; *Britannica*.

JOHN STUART MILL. 47 per cent. *Logic Political Economy; Representative Government; Utilitarianism; On the Subjection of Women*. 1843-69. Formulated the logic underlying scientific procedure. To explain economic relations he turned to actual conditions instead of the "natural laws" offered by Smith and Malthus. State control is a necessary evil. Quality as well as quantity of pleasure controls conduct. Mill urged greater freedom for women, and universal suffrage for all who can read, write and count, but he opposed the secret ballot. Davidson, *Political Thought*, pp. 158-235; Carver, pp. 788-808; *Britannica*.

CHARLES DARWIN. 53 per cent. *Origin of Species; Descent of Man*. 1859-71. The struggle for existence, with the survival of the fit, results in adaptation, through the preservation and accumulation of variations beneficial under the conditions to which the creature is exposed. Dar-

win applied the inductive method. Park and Burgess, pp. 513-22; Lichtenberger, pp. 274-9.

KARL MARX. 40 per cent. *Das Kapital*. Capital exploits labor by keeping as profits the surplus value which labor produces above the return fixed by the iron law of wages. Under economic determinism, capitalism must give way to communism through increasing misery and class struggle. Bliss; *New International Encyclopaedia*; Lichtenberger, pp. 291-302; Bogardus, pp. 234-45.

HENRY T. BUCKLE. 43 per cent. *History of Civilization in England*. Progress is conditioned by soil, climate, food, and the general aspects of nature. Bogardus, pp. 246-56.

HERBERT SPENCER. 90 per cent. *Synthetic Philosophy*. Working from the ethnographic study of savage life, he applied the principle of evolution to the development of society. Society is a biological organism. He presented the "ghost theory" that ancestor worship is the root of every religion. He advocated laissez-faire: the pursuit of happiness requires freedom of men to exercise their faculties, limited only by like freedom for others. Efforts of Parliament to regulate society transcend the proper sphere of government. Lichtenberger, pp. 308-51; *Britannica*.

FRANCIS GALTON. 30 per cent. *Hereditary Genius; Inquiries into the Human Faculty*. 1856-1904. Founded eugenics movement. Used statistical methods. Bogardus, pp. 325 ff; Carver, pp. 631-46; Case, pp. 754-9 or Park and Burgess, pp. 979-83.

WALTER BAGEHOT. 40 per cent. *Physics and Politics*. Progress requires coöperation; compact groups are superior in the social struggle. Social usages form a "cake of custom;" this cake, the forces of progress break up, but in their turn form a new crystallization. Lichtenberger, pp. 279-84; Carver, pp. 718-49.

ALBERT SCHAEFFLE. 37 per cent. *Bau und Leben des Sozialen Körpers*. Society is not an organism, but a gigantic mind. The group, not the individual, is the social unit. Society, as well as the individual, develops purposeful activity. Function leads to structure and structure limits function. Small, *Origins*, pp. 295-305; Bogardus, pp. 271-3.

GUILLAUME DE GREFF. 27 per cent. *Les Lois Sociologiques; Introduction à la Sociologie*. 1886-93. Following Comte's lead, De Greef classified the sciences, arranging them in order of decreasing generality and of increasing complexity. Small, *General Sociology*, pp. 69-73, 234-7.

LESTER FRANK WARD. 80 per cent. *Dynamic Sociology; Principles of Sociology; Pure Sociology; Applied Sociology*. 1883-1903. The three levels of aggregation are cosmogony, biogeny and sociogeny. "Synergy"—the combination of energy and mutuality—is the basis of organization in all nature. The creative synthesis of opposing elements evolves society from stage to stage. The dynamic agents in social relations are the physical desire for bodily functioning and the spiritual desire for psychical functioning. These desires, directed by the intellectual and purposive qualities of "social teleosis," produce achievement. The superiority of the artificial teleological process over the natural genetic process is the basis for dynamic action. Hence comes the necessity for the equal and universal distribution of knowledge by education. Lichtenberger, pp. 355-99; Bogardus, pp. 276-300; *American Masters of Social Science* pp. 61-96; Park and Burgess, pp. 973-5.

SIMON NELSON PATTEN. 37 per cent. *Theory of Social Forces*. 1896. Society has arisen in a pain economy, with survival conditioned by outer enemies and pains to be avoided. It is now entering a pleasure economy, whose inner enemies—lethargy,

vice and decay—are still unconquered. Carver, pp. 127-32; Dealey, pp. 7-9, 293.

GUSTAV RATZENHOFER. 40 per cent. *Wesen und Zweck der Politik; Sociologische Erkenntniss; Sociologie*. 1893-1903. The social process involves interactions between groups rather than between individuals. Throughout the universe is manifested "Urkraft," developing into five interests: reproductive, self-preservative, egoistic, kin-loving, and religious. Society is formed through the constant conflict, adaptation, and reciprocal interplay of interests. From the five basic interests result migration, war, race differentiation, race conflict, domination through the state, a leisure class, and culture. Bentley, "Simmel, Durkheim and Ratzenhofer," *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1926; Lichtenberger, pp. 437-64.

GABRIEL TARDE. 57 per cent. *The Laws of Imitation*. 1900. Repetition, opposition, adaptation are cosmic fundamental laws. Society is imitation, i.e., social repetition. When expanding imitations interfere, opposition leads to adaptation. Carver, pp. 503-21; Lichtenberger, pp. 372-80; Columbia Dissertation on *Gabriel Tarde* by M. M. Davis.

CHARLES H. COOLEY. 37 per cent. *Human Nature and the Social Order; Social Organization; The Social Process*. 1902-9. The individual mind is not a separate growth, but an integral development of the general mind, which through communication disseminates social traditions, social standards, social values, and social attitudes. Primary groups—the family, the neighborhood and the community—shape the social nature and ideals of the individual. Society is a tissue of reciprocal activity. Bogardus, pp. 389-95; Ellwood, "C. H. Cooley," *Sociological Review*, January, 1927; F. R. Clow, "Cooley's Doctrine of Primary Groups,"

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American Journal of Sociology, November, 1919, pp. 326-47.

BENJAMIN KIDD. 30 per cent. *Social Evolution; Principles of Western Civilization; The Science of Power*. 1894-1918. Evolution by survival of the fittest cannot be unqualifiedly applied to the study of society. Society rests on religious beliefs in supernatural and ultra-rational sanctions. Lichtenberger, pp. 287-91; Carver, pp. 481-97.

WILLIAM GRAHAM SUMNER. 47 per cent. *Folkways*. 1907. Customs are widely accepted folkways; mores are customs plus a philosophy of welfare; institutions are mores plus structures. Peoples are ethnocentric; in-group mores differ from out-group. Charity interferes with survival of the fit. Bogardus, pp. 306-15. Sumner, *Folkways*.

FRANKLIN H. GIDDINGS. 60 per cent. *Elements of Sociology; Inductive Sociology; Principles of Sociology; Studies in the Theory of Human Society*. 1898-1922. Pluralistic behavior results when the same combination of stimuli is reacted to by more than one individual. Consciousness of kind converts gregariousness into discriminating association. Awareness of fundamental similarities in behavior promotes social cohesion, while awareness of detailed differences of behavior creates division of labor. By approvals and disapprovals society perpetuates the adequate. Conquest is followed by communication, imitation, toleration, coöperation and alliance. Sociology is a science statistical in its method. Bogardus, pp. 381-6; *American Masters of Social Science*, pp. 191-228.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS. 63 per cent. *Social Control; Social Psychology; Outlines of Sociology*. 1901-23. The original social forces are the fighting, gregarious, parental and curiosity instincts; the derivative social forces are wealth, government, religion, and knowledge. Socialization—the we-feeling, the capacity to act to-

gether—grows out of shared experience. The grounds of social control are sympathy, sociability, the sense of justice, and group needs. Means of social control are public opinion, law, art, ideals and religion. Bogardus, pp. 62, 350, 363, 397-406; Case, pp. 417-27, 509-14, 566-77, 671-6.

LEONARD T. HOBHOUSE. 30 per cent. *Morals in Evolution; Elements of Social Justice; Social Development*. 1906-22. Gives a more systematic and thorough review of the data analyzed by Sumner. Progress consists in realization of an ethical order judged, not by its conformity to natural processes, but by whether it yields rational and coherent guidance to human effort. Social improvement comes by social effort rather than by racial improvement. Eugenists must show that we know what we want to breed for and how to breed for it. Park and Burgess, pp. 190-3, 795-6, 969-73; Bogardus, pp. 316-8. Hugh Carter, *The Social Theory of L. T. Hobhouse*.

ALBION W. SMALL. 43 per cent. *General Sociology; The Meaning of Social Science; Origin of Sociology*. 1905-24. Following Simmel, Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer, Small interpreted social processes from the standpoint of interests. Progress is measured by achievement in health, harmony, wealth, knowledge, art and religion. *American Masters of Social Science*, pp. 149-87.

SOCIAL THINKERS

SCORING TWO OR MORE POINTS

Score	Name
4	Aquinas, Thomas
17	Aristotle
2	Bacon, Francis
12	Baghot, Walter
7	Baldwin, J. Mark
2	Barth, P.
2	Bechterew, W.
3	Blanc, Louis
4	Boas, Franz

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| 8 | Bodin, Jean | 15 | Malthus, T. R. |
| 4 | Bryce, James | 12 | Marx, Karl |
| 13 | Buckle, Henry T. | 3 | Menger, K. |
| 2 | Calvin, John | 14 | Mill, John S. |
| 5 | Carlyle, Thomas | 2 | Mohl, R. |
| 15 | Comte, Auguste | 13 | Montesquieu |
| 11 | Coolcy, Charles H. | 2 | More, Thomas |
| 7 | Condorcet, Marie | 5 | Morris, William |
| 4 | Dante | 2 | Niehubur, B. G. |
| 16 | Darwin, Charles | 4 | Novicow, G. |
| 2 | Dealey, James Q. | 11 | Patten, Simon N. |
| 8 | DeGreef, Guillaume | 4 | Park, Robert E. (and Park and Burgess) |
| 4 | Devine, Edward T. | 2 | Philo |
| 5 | Dewey, John | 15 | Plato |
| 4 | Durkheim, Emile | 5 | Ratzel, Friedrich |
| 2 | Eichhorn, K. F. | 8 | Ratzenhofer, Gustav |
| 2 | Ellis, Havelock | 3 | Rau, K. H. |
| 7 | Ellwood, C. A. | 2 | Rauschenbusch, Walter |
| 5 | Ely, R. T. | 3 | Ricardo, D. |
| 5 | Fiske, John | 3 | Rivers, W. H. R. |
| 5 | Fourier, F. M. C. | 19 | Ross, Edward A. |
| 4 | Frazier, James G. | 14 | Rousseau, Jean J. |
| 2 | Freud, Sigmund | 4 | Ruskin, John |
| 9 | Galton, Francis | 2 | St. Augustine |
| 18 | Giddings, Franklin | 3 | St. Paul (Saul) |
| 2 | Gillin, J. L. | 8 | Saint-Simon, C. H. |
| 3 | Goldenweiser, A. A. | 2 | Savigny, F. K. |
| 2 | Buiccardini | 11 | Schaeffle, Albert |
| 7 | Gumplowicz, Ludwig | 5 | Schmoller, Gustav |
| 13 | Hobbes, Thomas | 7 | Semple, Ellen |
| 9 | Hobhouse, Leonard | 6 | Simmel, Georg |
| 4 | Huntington, Ellsworth | 13 | Small, Albion |
| 5 | James, William | 15 | Smith, Adam |
| 7 | Jesus (and Christian) | 27 | Spencer, Herbert |
| 9 | Kidd, Benjamin | 14 | Sumner, William G. |
| 2 | Kroeber, A. L. | 16 | Tarde, Gabriel |
| 2 | Kropotkin | 2 | Taylor, E. B. |
| 6 | Lassalle, Ferdinand | 2 | Thibaut, A. F. J. |
| 5 | LeBon, Gustave | 7 | Thomas, W. I. |
| 2 | Lilienfeld, Paul | 2 | Treitschke, H. |
| 3 | Lowie, Robert H. | 3 | Wagner, A. |
| 13 | Locke, John | 7 | Wallas, Graham |
| 4 | Luther, Martin | 2 | Ward, Harry F. |
| 2 | McBride | 24 | Ward, Lester F. |
| 5 | McDougal, William | 2 | Wissler, Clark |
| 10 | Machiavelli, Niccolo | 4 | Wright, Carrol |
| 7 | Maine, Sir Henry | 2 | Znaniecki, Florian |

PRIMITIVE SOCIAL NORMS IN PRESENT-DAY EDUCATION

(Concluded)

KIMBALL YOUNG

III. SOME IMPLICATIONS AS TO THE FUTURE

IN THE two previous sections of this paper I examined the persistence of primitive social norms in present-day education. This cultural retardation was exposed under four rubrics: daily school procedure, curriculum, choice and social regulation of personnel, and finally in the matter of the political organization of public education. In the present section mention will be made of the more positive, critical trends in education which may, in time, become a part of our mores and folkways, that is to say, become the social standards of education. I shall also point out, however, some of the limitations which we must face in looking to a modernized education kept abreast of social realities. And, in closing, an effort will be made to state briefly the mechanism of social and individual change in attitude which will make improvement possible and likely.

If, then, we are to move toward a more realistic education, the principal matter becomes the nature of the concept of the school which we adopt. Dewey, Bode and others make much of the hope that the school may become a progressive, active institution in the future rather than a mere carrier of the settled tradition and custom of the past. Such a conception of the function of the school puts an entirely different aspect on the whole social meaning of the educative process than that which we have entertained in the past.

In the work of certain experimental schools, such as the Lincoln School of

New York, one may witness some of the changes that may be made in the method and curriculum of education in relating it to our modern industrial civilization and in making the school a training ground for critical but constructive citizenship. As we have already noted, our education has moved pretty well into the practical realities in our technical and commercial training in many localities, but almost everywhere in the field of the social sciences we have persisted in the older schemes while the whole culture around us has moved beyond them. And the social sciences are significant, for they give us the stereotypes and attitudes which shall determine conduct in our socio-political order, or at least, it is the theory of education that their teachings so carry over. At any rate, the entire problem of democratic government hangs upon what we do with our educational curricula in regard to these fundamental attitudes and values.

The staff of Lincoln School under the direction of Caldwell and Rugg has been making an effort to study this whole problem from a scientific angle. Whether, of course, the children who are inculcated into critical attitudes and more adequate facts through the modernized curriculum of the social sciences will carry these over into later life has yet to be seen. Certainly the experiment is one worthy of our most serious consideration for its possible effects are far-reaching. If this and other experiments fail to show what can be done even with a group of children of median intelligence, or better, from average American homes in the way of inducing a more ade-

quate, socialized concept of democratic practice, then our education must turn to some other—perhaps, the aristocratic-tradition once more.¹

Sumner had the following to say of the social function of the critical attitude which such work as has just been mentioned essays to induce in students.²

Criticism is the examination and test of propositions of any kind which are offered for acceptance, in order to find out whether they correspond to reality or not. The critical faculty is a product of education and training. It is a mental habit and power. It is a prime condition of human welfare that men and women should be trained in it. It is our only guarantee against delusion, deception, superstition, and misapprehension of ourselves and our earthly circumstances. It is a faculty which will protect us against all harmful suggestion. . . . Our education is good just so far as it produces well-developed critical faculty. . . . A religious catechism never can train children to criticism. "Patriotic" history and dithyrambic literature never can do it. A teacher of any subject who insists on accuracy and a rational control of all processes and methods, and who holds everything open to unlimited verification and revision is cultivating that method as a habit in the pupils. . . . The critical habit of thought, if usual in a society, will pervade all its mores, because it is a way of taking up the problems of life. Men educated in it cannot be stampeded by stump orators and are never deceived by dithyrambic oratory. They are slow to believe. They can hold things as possible or probable in all degrees, without certainty and without pain. They can wait for evidence and weigh evidence, uninfluenced by the emphasis or confidence with which assertions are made on one side or the other. They can resist appeals to their dearest prejudices and all kinds of cajolery. Education in the critical faculty is the only education of which it can truly be said that it makes good citizens. . . .

¹ Cf.: Rugg, H. O., and Hockett, J.: *Objective Studies in Map Location*. 1925, Lincoln School, Teachers College, Columbia University. Also, Rugg, H. O.: "A Preface to the Reconstruction of the American School Curriculum." *Teachers College Record*, 1926: XXVII: 600-616. Consult the series of publications: "The Social Science Pamphlets" edited by H. O. Rugg (at Lincoln School, 425 West 123rd Street, New York) for concrete instances of what is being done.

² Cf.: *Folkways*, pp. 632-3.

While this ideal is one which may with good faith be held necessary to a sane democracy, it nevertheless remains true that certain socio-economic conditions, on the one hand, and certain more or less innate qualities of human beings on the other, must be considered before we can fully accept the implied thesis that such a critical attitude, such an objectivity in thinking and acting, will be ever universally possible or probable.³

In short, certain fundamental limitations to education and to social progress must be considered. Space prevents no more than a somewhat categorical notation of these here.

1. *The limitation of intellectual capacity in the population.* Sumner was well aware of the handicap to rational living which was placed upon society by the existence of marked individual differences in human intelligence. We have become, due to work in applied psychology, more and more conscious of the fact that these differences are, in part, innate and cannot be greatly modified by training. There is no doubt, either, that so far as intelligence regarding social living is concerned that the critical attitude of which we have been speaking is highly indicative of superior ability. If the dull-normal classes, for instance, lack the capacities for arriving through education at the self-critical standpoint demanded by such an ideal as Sumner's just quoted, then we shall have to fall back upon other means of social control than a self-conscious, self-initiated public morality for all classes of our population at least.

³ Cf.: Young, K.: "The Need of Integration of Attitudes Among Scientists" *Scien. Mon.* 1924: XVIII: 291-305. Here I have attempted to show the problem of securing an integration of critical attitudes on the part of scientists themselves. We must secure this long before we can hope to move on to inculcating such attitudes in the common run of people.

2. *The influence of the early environment.*

The home remains decidedly primitive so far as rational methods of training social attitudes is concerned. The negative taboos are strongly imbued in the usual home. The pressure of the family group upon the individual is throughout in the negative manner. This makes in itself for a negativistic, impulsive, emotional attitude to reality. For example, take racial prejudice. If the child is inducted into the violent emotional attitudes and stereotypes toward the Negro or the Oriental or the immigrant, then his attitudes may as an adult become so generalized that he adopts the same method of solving other social problems as he does that of race. That is to say, if there is anything in the generalization of attitudes, and it would seem that there is, then a set of attitudes built up at home regarding a given set of specific social data, such as the Negro-white relations, may later furnish the core for a general attitude and standpoint for meeting other social problems.

3. *The theological bias of the past.* As Williams has pointed out the church with its theological mores still exerts an enormous influence upon the child and the adult. One needs but mention the recent anti-evolution movement to make clear what is meant. Thus, the school with all its possibilities for objective curriculum and methodology must deal with human material that is also under the impress of older schemes of subjective, emotional interpretations and attitudes. American education sprang up so largely under the aegis of the church that it will take some time to bring about marked changes in its influence. Mention of the church's influence was noted in the choice of personnel and the insistence that the teacher be the religio-moral preceptor of the children in terms of the dominant creed of the community. (Cf. previous section.)

4. *The nature of current political organization.* A reactionary political government itself will greatly affect the progress toward objectivity in education. In such a government there is fear that an objective treatment of history and current social life will undermine the state. And one asks, frankly, will it not destroy the faith of the people in the kind of state which tends to forbid criticism of its fundamentals? Any democracy which is inclined to be shaky and ineffectual is pretty certain to exert pressure upon educational practices which make for criticism of "patriotic history" and an objective analysis of social problems. We have already noted this sort of trend in our own country.

5. *The nature of the economic order.* Closely allied to the control which the political organization puts upon the modern education is the pressure put upon the schools by the current economic system. We do not encourage a critical attitude toward present-day capitalism in this country. In Russia, on the contrary, the dominant note, we have been told, is the inculcation of equally or even more non-critical attitudes and stereotypes about the Marx-Lenin brand of economics. Our own business folkways are very conservative. The scientific, critical point of view even in economics has scarcely touched the middleman, the retailer, the type of person who up and down the country is in the control of our public schools. He is thus fearsome of what any scientific training may do to children. Yet, the controlling note of conservatism comes from the larger powers of finance who set the pace for our whole civilization and thus indirectly, but none the less powerfully, affect our educational system.

Other factors might be named but these five suffice to show some of the forces which make for conservatism in education. The matter, in turn, relates to the concept of education which the state adopts. If

the present nationalist, capitalist state accepts the theory that education shall function only to pass down to the rising generation what the dominant classes consider safe and sacred, then the conception of education as a progressive, growing, inventive institution can have no place, except in terms of progress as interpreted by these narrow class stereotypes.

To the present writer the matter seems to resolve itself into this duality: Either we may conceive of education as purely a matter of conserving past accumulations and thus leave to other social institutions the task of furnishing new cues to social living, or we may take the view that education while first of all concerned with passing on the "social heredity" from generation to generation is likewise to take a scientific view of our past culture and to re-vamp it. Moreover, through the scientific method, with its experimental procedure, education is actually to take a hand in initiation of social changes looking toward a more adequate, wholesome, integrated life. In other words, education may become one of the active means of altering society rather than to remain a passive, conservative carrier of past culture to the new generation.

The present impetus toward scientific pedagogy gives some evidence that we are moving in this latter direction. Likewise the emerging belief in the social importance of adult education is significant. We may come to recognize that learning may go on throughout the entire span of life and that at no time shall it be thought of as done or completed. If the adult population, or at least the intelligent minority, can, through adult instruction, retain something of the flexibility of youth, we may see some change toward the ideal posited for education by Sumner. We have, however, at all times to bear in mind the limitations cited above. With the in-

creased rational use of leisure time on the part of a growing minority, we may see the development of new attitudes, at least on the part of those adults whose influence counts most in democratic society.

Finally, a word or two should be said about the actual process by which we move to a more adequate social reality, of the method by which we get from the foggy, vague schema of values of a pre-industrial age to a new formulation related to the cultural reality of the present.

Some current writers on social problems have been inclined in their analysis and suggested reforms to revive what is really the rationalism of the 18th and early 19th century. These men seem to hold that once the facts of the social, economic and political order are made clear to our population that then the populace will be motivated by sound reason and no longer by emotions and instinctive desires. No greater misunderstanding of the facts of modern social psychology could be made. We do not pass from emotional set and stereotype into something called clear, cool reason, but rather we go from one set of emotionally-toned attitudes and stereotypes to another. The place of the intellect and the will come into operation in any change in two ways. First, the intellectual processes come to the fore in the scientific enunciation of new objective facts. Second, the inhibitory function of the will plays a part in holding us back from responses or action in regard to any situation until we have thus, by the intellect, more completely examined it and determined its reality. The new concept or stereotype which then forms is related to the more objective nature of things and, in turn, if it is to be effective in conduct, comes to be attached to older emotional sets. Thus the basic motivation for action on the new plane is witnessed.

Instances of what is meant may be seen

in the economic field in the gradual disappearance of methods of securing gain by fraud and by commercial piracy and the substitution of methods genuinely related to a highly integrated and, gradually, more socialized money economy. The present conflict between absentee owners and scientific fact-finding plans in the case of the British coal industry is an example of the old versus the new approach. The investigations of Keynes, Moulton and others of Germany's financial condition and capacity to pay its war obligations in contrast to the emotional, violent outworn attitude and stereotype which motivated France in the matter of reparations, is another.

Man will long continue to be motivated by his emotions and impulses, since these are the driving factors in his personality. These are what furnish the motives of his social actions; they are the core of his wants. But the expression of these drives, the satisfaction of them may be greatly altered, bearing in mind, again, the checks of individual differences in intelligence and in emotional flexibility and in the intensity of impulses. The very nature of man's mental make-up, however, is such that stereotypes and attitudes, emotionally colored, will remain basic to his whole method of dealing with his world.

The problem is not properly phrased by the Benthamite psychology of cool calculation which assumes a fallacious human nature made-up predominantly of intellectual, self-operating faculties. Today, thanks to the modern biology and social psychology, we know better. The only danger is that educational experts in their enthusiasm may fall back into the frames of thinking that knowledge, scientific or otherwise, alone suffices to make man more rational in action. We move not from emotionality to reason, from subjectivity to complete objectivity, but rather

as witnessed in art, from crude emotional patterns to more refined and complete ones. Intellect moves not from irrationality to complete rationality, but from simpler, cruder forms of thought to those which relate more adequately to the nature of the world both inside and outside the individual.

Any educational program, therefore which is to aid in the alteration of social living must recognize the facts of social psychology just mentioned. Our whole educational scheme continues to phrase learning altogether too statically in terms of intellectual processes only. Facts, ideas and skill that do not attach themselves to the emotions and instinctive impulses of the person mean nothing for conduct. Hence in regard to a more satisfactory conception and handling of social, economic and political phenomena, education can only advance us if it teaches man not only objectivity in fact and attitude but also relates these to man's deeper nature. Our educational progress, therefore, like all progress, must take the course determined, on the one hand, by the nature of the individuals in society, and, on the other hand by the nature of the social reality which is created by men in company with each other.

IV

In conclusion we may reiterate our twofold purpose in this paper. We have tried to show that our educational system had continued to preserve outworn, antiquated formulae based on a pre-industrial society and that such a schema runs counter to the demands of present social reality. And lastly, we have shown that a new trend must take account of certain limitations of human nature and of past traditions and above all else it must recognize the nature of change in terms of man's more fundamental motivations.

THE PROBLEM OF SOCIAL EVALUATION

ROSS L. FINNEY

"WE WANT what we want because we want it," is the epigrammatic conclusion to which a brilliant young sociologist has been driven by the conflicting variety of human interests. This is the best that he can do with the problem of human values. He observes that unconditioned reflexes are extremely rare in human behavior; that the human nervous system is indefinitely plastic; and that history displays all sorts of different, not to say contradictory, culture systems. There is nothing conceivable but what somebody can be found to desire it; there being persons who even want to die. There have been customs so cruel and revolting that their prevalence seems almost incredible; and yet societies have believed in them devoutly, and practiced them even to their own ultimate destruction. And who shall be the judge of what a person or a society wants if not that person or society itself? The *results* of a given line of behavior can in a measure be predicted; the *causal sequences* of human activities are phenomena for scientific treatment. But not their *value*! That is a personal and subjective matter, as variable as human whims, and as plastic as the human nervous system. The problem of human values is therefore one which the strict scientist, this young scholar believes, will do well to eschew entirely, as solipsistic and subjective—hopelessly!

But to abandon a whole field of important phenomena seems like a strange obeisance for the devotees of science to offer to their deity. One who adopts the position outlined above should at least recognize this logical consequence, and admit it as consistently as other behaviorists are wont to do. For, as Dr. Cooley has so clearly

pointed out in a recent article, we have in our world two entirely different kinds of facts: material facts in space, and mental-social facts in consciousness. Science deals with the former; measuring their time and space associations, and inferring their causal relationships. But mental-social facts can not be gotten at directly; but only indirectly, through the objective behavior symbols by which they are dramatized and represented. They are not, therefore, amenable to the ordinary techniques of natural science. It may be questioned whether our knowledge of mental-social facts can ever be scientific, in the sense that our knowledge of material facts in space is. This is the valid core of behaviorism; though it is absurd for behaviorists to deny the existence of consciousness. Even though our knowledge of this subjective sort of phenomena must come through introspection, sympathetic intuition, and art, it need be none the less abundant and informing on that account. Now values, the root idea of which is purpose (as contrasted with the categories of time, space, number, cause, and so forth), are phenomena of the mental-social sort. Strictly speaking, therefore, there can be a science of human values only indirectly, through a study of the objective symbols and expressions of value. Accordingly our problem is to find that characteristic *behavior* by which needs, purposes, satisfactions, values, are dramatized and represented. Such behavior may then be subjected to a treatment as closely scientific as the data will permit. And we may be confident that the findings will prove of great practical utility; even though the data for demonstrable conclusions be rather meagre, and absolute finality for-

ever impossible. To indicate the sources of such data, and suggest a technique for their treatment, is the purpose of the present paper.

For, in the contemporaneous flux of ideals and crash of institutions, the deepest and most desperately urgent of all our intellectual needs is nothing less than a solution, *de novo*, of this very problem of human values. Due to the scientific, industrial and democratic revolutions we find ourselves to-day "in the last hectic phase of an order that is passing." And what of to-morrow? Peace, prosperity, enlightenment and progress? Or strife, misery, disorder, and the iron heel of the oppressor? Never in history was it more urgent for intellectual and moral leaders to "prove all things and hold fast that which is good." But in the presence of this clash of the titans it is nothing short of pitiful to see a bewildered adolescent intellectualism blindly averring that we want what we want because we want it. For it thereby puts itself in a position where it must admit, if it is consistent, that one thing is as good as another if only the person or society that practices the same has gotten into the *habits* of practicing it. Which means that the oncoming intellectual leaders propose to abandon, in the very name of science, the most vital responsibility of the intellect, in the present world crisis; and leave society to stagger on, even if it be into Avernus. The reason being—if the secret must be out—their incapacity to grasp and analyze the problem or imagine any effective technique for its solution.

But the young sociologist is more consistent after all than certain social and educational theorists who deceive themselves and their disciples with purely verbal solutions that really get us nowhere in the end. One prominent sociological philosopher, for example, finds the ulti-

mate criterion of human values and of social progress in the *harmony of institutions*, or words to that effect. The idea seems to be that any change in the social process which interferes with the operation of other social processes is a change for the worse; and conversely. Another prominent theorist—this time in the field of education—finds his solution in the formula that desirable activity is "activity leading to further activity." But these solutions are both purely verbal, and leave us exactly where we were at the start.

Both involve two fallacies. The first fallacy is that of smuggling oneself into his solution; that is, in this case, of performing the interpretative act of *sympathetic introspection* without catching oneself overtly at it. A social process is harmonious or otherwise with reference to a participant or observer with interests at stake in it; but not intrinsically. A headlong runaway would doubtless appear like a harmonious process to a reasoning blue jay perched on an adjacent apple tree; but not to the driver, pitched into the fence corner with a broken collar bone. The process dramatizes a *meaning* that is not harmonious with the needs of the driver, or of a sympathetically introspective human observer. But among themselves the parts of the process are intrinsically as harmonious as any other program of activities. What graceful curves and beautiful parabolas! What an exact conformity with the preestablished laws of gravitation! Similarly, the speculative observer of social processes unconsciously juggles into the hat what he afterwards draws out with great ostentation, deceiving himself as well as his audience. What he infers as the end result of his thinking is merely his preconceived notion of his own or his group's interests. And the same is the case with the other formula. For, as a matter of fact, any activity what-

soever leads to further activity—stealing your neighbor's chickens, or alienating his wife's affections; killing and burying a man, or starting a war. The main objection to certain types of activity is the further activities they lead to. Activity that exterminated the human race would lead to further activity; but mostly by beasts, weeds and insects! The theorist unconsciously shuts one eye and sees only the further activity that appeals to him as desirable, ignoring the rest. Thus he smuggles himself into his solution.

The second fallacy arises from "the hypnotism of the present reality." As we have just seen, the investigator juggles his own preconceived appraisal into his conclusion. But where does he get that preconceived appraisal? As a rule he dips it out of the social current. When dealing with large social phenomena what one takes for his own evaluations are seldom, after all, his very own; but merely those that happen to be prevalent in the group mind. His final conclusions merely echo, therefore, the obsessions of the Zeitgeist. He has merely lifted out of his hat a rabbit that the Zeitgeist had slipped into it while his back was turned. Thus the custom-rutted aberrations of the age acquire a philosophic sanction and approval; even though the bloodhounds of destruction are hot upon their trail. Objective appraisal of its trends is, therefore, just what the age fails to get from such fallacious ratiocination. And just when objective appraisal of its trends is the deepest need of the age. It seems a pity!

In view of the need for objective appraisal of social trends and processes in such a time as ours it would appear that we require a fresh attack upon the problem of social evaluation. The task of this paper may be promoted, therefore, if we proceed, first, to re-examine the concepts involved; second, to establish a criterion for such

evaluation; and, third, to suggest a technique for the investigation.

First, then, as to the concepts involved. *Value* has reference to the needs of some more or less sentient organism. Any theorizing about social values or progress that does not have clearly in mind the needs of the human organism is bound to lead the theorist astray. The criterion of value is not to be found in the objective process by which those needs are satisfied; but in the subjective needs that are satisfied by the process. Some mathematical locus in a curve of trends may *dramatize* to us a normal need of human nature; but we shall never think quite clearly until we realize that the subjective need, and not the objective locus, is the real point of reference. A central tendency in the weights of cock sparrows or the diameters of fixed stars is one thing; for who cares? But a central tendency in the practice of monogamy or the distribution of incomes is quite another; for a degree of human welfare is *symbolized* thereby. And it is that degree of human welfare which is the real criterion of value.

Now, it goes without saying—though we often fizzle the fact in our thinking—that for an array of varying phenomena or a changing process, the criterion must be a fixed and abiding point of reference. Motion can be detected and measured only with reference to something at the side which does not move. From which it follows that we must think of human needs as fixed and stable, as over against the changing processes of society. That staggers our imaginations; but we must admit that otherwise we have only changing social processes, with no criterion for their appraisal. Of which reasoning the outcome is, that one thing is just as good as another—if the theorist is to be logically consistent, like the young sociologist. It is really at this concept of fixed and

stable human needs that our imaginations balk, and throw our thinking off the track.

Second, as to the establishment of such a criterion. A bright new light has been thrown on this problem by the advance of biological science during the last half century or so. For it is now safe to assert that the innate biological needs of *HOMO sapiens* are practically fixed and changeless among all people and in all ages. With respect to any human trait for which the germ plasm provides there is a wide range of individual variations, to be sure; just as there is among oak leaves, as to size and color. But variations imply a norm. The spread and norm for different races may differ some; but such differences are probably slight—except with respect to such superficial but obtrusive traits as skin color and hair fiber; which lead our minds astray! These human norms are practically constant for all our ancestors and contemporaries—at least since the last real variation secured which lifted *HOMO* from something now extinct to the real *sapiens* level. *HOMO sapiens* breeds true, like any other species, over long periods of time. Is not this an indisputable inference from Weismann's law, from the fact of mutation, and from the principle of unit characters? It seems to be confirmed by anthropology. Authorities declare that Cro-Magnon had just as good a brain as ours; and there is pretty general agreement among the most competent that racial differences are minor if not negligible. The racial germ plasm has remained practically static since the ice age; and so, therefore, has the anatomy of the nervous system; and, therefore, also, the innate needs and "drives" of the human species.

And, obviously, it was to satisfy these innate needs of this practically static organism that civilization has been evolved. Indeed, those needs, however

vaguely felt at times, were the motivating forces, always. For example, the most primitive of men must have felt the universal need for means of locomotion; the Pullman train, the ocean liner, the automobile and the airplane are the results to date. Young Indian bucks on the reservations, only a generation from the age-old savagery, get themselves "flivvers, now that they are extant! Evidently the vaguely felt need for flivvers and hard roads has been latent in their germ plasm for untold centuries. Since all mentality has a physical basis, it follows that all culture is implicit in the germ plasm. Social progress, to define which so many theorists have sweat so hard to no avail, is simply an increasing provision for the satisfaction of man's changeless needs. Customs, ideals, and institutions have value in proportion as they meet those self-consistent and perennial wants. The static, innate needs of human nature are, therefore, the criterion of value and of progress.

"It seems impossible," is the answer usually given to the proposition of the preceding paragraph. That is to say, it is our imaginations which balk. The superstition that persons and peoples culturally different must be in some way biologically different is so deeply rooted in the popular anthropological mythology that even educated persons find the greatest difficulty in weeding it out, despite the recent findings of biology. In writing about cultural differences many sociologists and even some biologists seem incapable of taking seriously the obvious inferences from Weismann and Mendel. Perhaps that is not so strange; for the most amazing and awe inspiring phenomenon in all nature is the neural, and therefore the mental, potentialities that are carried along unmodified in the germ plasm for innumerable generations. It utterly stag-

gers the imagination. And somehow, we all do so deeply desire that the advance of culture since the old stone age, and even since the Roman period, should have given us improved germ plasms, that the immutability of the germ plasm eludes our grasp. Our fancy simply refuses to feature it. The theory affects educated persons just as the monkey theory affects the fundamentalists! And our philosophy follows our impotent imaginations. But nothing—absolutely nothing!—would go farther toward clarifying our thinking about all the problems of social betterment than to hold ourselves rigorously to Weismann's law and all its implications. Those implications are absolutely fundamental to any sound philosophy of human values.

The explanations of human culture presented by Allport (Social Psychology, Chapter III) and the behaviorists are not at all convincing to a skeptic of the premises involved. In the first place, the scheme is too simple. Freud's propensity to explain everything in terms of sex was a worse logical sin; but Allport's six original, fundamental, prepotent drives are similarly too few. There may well be nearer sixty! The result is that too much comes out of the juggler's hat. Most mammals have the six prepotent reflexes; but they do not produce science, art, philosophy and religion. It is the old problem of why the same grass makes bristles on the pigs and wool on the sheep. This the current instincts theory fails utterly to explain.

In the second place, instinct (in the strict sense of unlearned reactions) and habit are *not* "clearly reciprocal in explanatory value." That which is ascribed to the one need *not* necessarily be denied to the other. We have innate tendencies to learn this instead of that. Even chicks may have to learn to pick up kernels of

wheat; but why do they *never* learn to bury them as dogs do bones? Moreover, the strictly genetic approach precludes the possibility of studying these innate propensities to learn. If that is to be done a change of venue will have to be taken from nervous systems to culture systems. Which is legitimate enough if self and society are but two aspects of the same thing, as Professor Cooley insists. And how, indeed, can one tell what is in an acorn except by studying the oak? Similarly, to find out what is in the germ plasm of *HOMO sapiens* the student must classify the contents of man's culture systems.

It is quite in the vogue just now for sociologists to assert the mutability of human nature. To quote a sample:

An inescapable corollary of the foregoing is the mutability of human nature. Despite the chauvinists, the cynics, and the absolutists of every sort, human nature can be changed. Indeed, if one speaks with rigorous exactness, human nature never ceases to be altered; for the crises in life and nature, the interaction and diffusion of exotic cultures, and the varying temperaments possessed by the troop of continuously appearing and gradually begotten children, force the conclusion that human nature is in a continual state of flux.

But the "foregoing" from which this is "an inescapable corollary" is an arbitrary definition of human nature in terms of conditioned reflexes and acquired reaction patterns. Here the facts of life are not in dispute; but certainly this use of the term is quite debatable. For there are other facts, namely, man's inherited physiological equipment, including his some nine billion neurones. And this hereditary neural equipment is potential of all culture—which is the difference between human nature and dog nature! And not just anything is thus potential, either; for the great social universals seem predestined, at least in general outline. There are certain institutions, and certain types of

cognitive resources, that are found among all peoples. The forms thereof vary; but the general outlines are constant. This universality constitutes a problem for explanation; and contemporaneous social theory seems to ignore it almost entirely. Now, for this problem what other explanation is there but the germ plasm? And it is quite as practicable to apply the term human nature to this hereditary physical equipment, and the cultural predestination that results, as otherwise. And for the preference there is very much to say. In this sense of the word human nature is immutable! Or, at any rate, since the last ice age it has stood without mutations. And this immutable human nature is our new criterion of social values.

This criterion is, as a matter of logic, unconsciously implicit in the "further-activity" and "harmony-of-institutions" formulas mentioned above. But it must be made over to render them logically consistent. Those social processes which *HOMO sapiens* tends to use persistently and increasingly over long periods of time, the investigator naturally concludes to be good; whereas those which human nature tends in the long run to discard, he concludes are bad. This is the pragmatic test of social values; and is the kernel of truth in the "activity-leading-to-further-activity" formula. The formula is more validly conceived, however, as man desisting from those activities which fail to satisfy his needs, but persisting in those that do. The needs of man, not the "further activity," constitute the criterion. Likewise, activities that appear to interfere with other important activities are naturally adjudged bad by the philosopher of history. Jamming his fingers while stoking his furnace will render one awkward at his typewriter. Disharmony between the furnace stoking and the typewriting is, however, a meta-

phor of the befuddled imagination. Likewise, militarism tends in the long run to disqualify a people for operating all their fundamental institutions efficiently; as does also slavery. Thus, racial experience proves that militarism and slavery are bad. This is the core of validity in the "harmony-of-institutions" formula. However, the harmony or disharmony is not among the institutions, but between each institution and the static, innate needs of human nature. They, not the alleged harmony, are the criterion of social values.

We are now ready to proceed, third, to the method of social evaluation. How can we determine what the innate needs of human nature really are; so as to compare the various forms of each and every institution as to their success in satisfying those needs? The method, as the first line of this paper suggests, must be one that will find out what people like, and count the votes. Of course the votes will be in the form of behavior; because behavior reactions are more reliable than speech reactions, and because, of dead men, the only votes available are their recorded acts and practices. The validity of the finding will depend upon the number of votes counted. Otherwise we shall not rise from individual whims to group norms. Indeed, we must ransack the whole fields of history and anthropology; so as to get the votes, as nearly as may be, of all the centuries and every nation. Otherwise we shall not escape the aberrations of peculiar times and the infatuations of special groups, to which all societies are subject on account of social suggestion, mental contagion, and crowd psychology. And the data thus widely collected must be subjected to something as analogous as possible to statistical treatment, thus deriving trends and central tendencies, approximately, at least. Such trends and

central tendencies of race activity may then be regarded as dramatic symbols of the normal needs of man. To simplify such procedure we may first classify human activities. Such classification is furnished us in the common sense lists (*a*) of the universal institutions, such as family, church, state, industry, and so forth; and (*b*) of the cognitive resources of culture, such as language, science, art, industrial techniques, "mores," and the like. Each of such items may be subjected to comparative study. But, let us frankly admit, the findings will seldom be presentable in charts and graphs. Due to the nature of the phenomena—not to mention the inadequacy of available data—social evaluation can hardly be more than a speculative approximation of statistical treatment. The result will be a sort of philosophy of history, or an historical theory of ethics, rather than a strict science of values.

Indeed, the terminology of the last paragraph is chiefly intended to establish a nexus between philosophers and would-be scientists. The pragmatists among philosophers have long contended that the validity of a belief, or the value of a practice, is indicated by how it works in the long run; or, in other words, how it meets the needs of men. Rudolf Eucken

accounts for the swinging pendulums of history—as from Puritanism to Bohemianism, and back again—by the fundamental needs of man, that assert themselves when acquired customs disregard them. Professor Ross has the same idea in his chapter on the limitations of social control. Almost every historian writes about the trends of history. All such concepts and theories have implicit in them the idea of norms. And such norms must be sought by the kind of comparative study suggested above; even though it be speculative in form when the data do not lend themselves to strictly scientific treatment. Nevertheless it may be as analogous to statistical method as the nature of the data will permit. The findings, to be sure, can be no more than tentative and fractional, so long as culture falls short of completely satisfying human needs, and so long as the collective intellect remains potential of unpredictable inventions. Nevertheless half a loaf is better than no bread. And if we are to achieve any evaluations by which we can hope to bring progress out of confusion in the present awful crisis, it must be by such a comparative study of racial experience. But that study can not proceed without a valid concept of criterion.



TEACHING AND RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

RESEARCH INTERESTS OF AMERICAN SOCIOLOGISTS

HUGH CARTER

AN OPPORTUNITY to examine the main research interests of many American sociologists recently came to the writer. A survey of the research situation in all the social sciences was carried out last year by the American Council of Learned Societies under the immediate supervision of Mr. Ogg, the historian. A questionnaire sent to the members of the various national societies asked, among other things, what research projects the individual members (1) had brought to completion during the preceding five years, (2) had under way at the moment, (3) contemplated undertaking in the near future. Among the sociologists some three hundred individual reports were returned of which forty odd were incomplete. All the present lists are made up from the other two hundred sixty returns. Also, there are submitted herewith data dealing with research methods and financial assistance in carrying on research.

In making the classification of research interests the procedure was followed of putting each man under a heading which seemed most accurately to picture his main drive. After this task was completed the problem of grouping the data under a few general heads was tackled. Several of the usually accepted classifications of

sociological data were tried out and abandoned. It seemed clear that too great anxiety for neat and orderly categories would obscure the actual situation. Finally the headings given below were adopted. There is some confusion in these terms but this is lessened by the detailed figures under each general heading.

The research interests of 259 American sociologists may be grouped under the following 18 headings. Social psychology 44 (17%); education 30 (12-%); religion—the church 21 (8+-%); all community surveys 18; techniques of social work 16; race and nationality 18; immigration and movement of peoples 14; population 12; rural welfare 14; conditions in industry 14; criminology 13; general social theory 11 (4+-%); social processes 7; social institutions (not elsewhere indicated) 5; economics 8; anthropological 4 (2-%); methodological (statistical) 4; miscellaneous 6.

Social Psychology (44). Most readers will not be surprised to find a large group of American sociologists interested in social psychology. The preponderance of the psychological approach is overwhelming. Probably a full half of those individuals put under other categories are seriously interested in social psychology, even though they are most naturally grouped under

"education," or "race," or "social theory."

There is a notable swing to the newer psychological approaches. The six people who are interested primarily in the psychoanalytic study of social situations or personalities are well supported. The whole set of reports is studded with the terminology and concepts of psychoanalysis. The language of behaviorism is also present but to a less extent.

The social psychology of the social psychologist is illuminating. The emotional drive of the scholar for his work can sometimes be detected even in a brief questionnaire. In the group here under consideration it is clear that some of those interested in the problems of adolescence, for example, are emotionally tied up in their work to an unusual degree.

There is no evidence in the material at hand of a slackening of interest in social psychology; studies contemplated are as frequently psychological as studies completed. Of the 44 sociologists working primarily in social psychology, 14 were interested in the general field; 12 in adolescence (boys 8; girls 4); 6 in the psychoanalytic approach; 3 in emotions; 3 in general psychological tests; 2 in mental hygiene; 1 in caste prejudice; 1 in the radical; 1 in academic freedom and nationalism; and 1 in clarity of thought process.

Education (30). The large number of studies in education is in part explained through the presence in the American Sociological Society of many educational technicians. This is evidenced especially in the titles here grouped as *educational tests and surveys*. Certainly the sociologist cannot be condemned for neglecting the educational process. It may be observed in this connection that many classifications by title, as "Social Psychology of Education" might fall with equal propriety under two general headings. In such cases the scholar has

been put in the group where he *seems* to belong on the basis of the entire questionnaire. Thirty sociologists were interested in various educational fields as follows: Educational tests and surveys 13; philosophy of education 2; history of education 2; adult education 2; student personnel work 2; non-curricular education in colleges 1; education and teacher training 1; education and recreation 1; social psychology of education 2; sociology and education 1; teaching of the social sciences 2; home environment and education 1.

Religion, the Church (21). Some readers will find it strange that not less than 21 sociologists are interested primarily in research connected with the church or religion. The fact that a large number of individuals came from an intimate connection with the church into the social sciences is illuminating in this connection. The individual whose interest in the social process begins in the church naturally turns about and studies that institution. Two were interested in the philosophy of religion; 8 religion in general; 2 religious surveys; 5 the church in general; 1 missions; 1 church education; 1 religious revival; 1 church and social ethics.

All Community Surveys (18). Examination of the questionnaires confirms the general belief that fewer all community surveys are being made. The technique is more elaborate and the results more substantial than formerly. One observes a tendency to concentrate on a smaller area for study. Of the 18 sociologists whose chief interest was all community surveys, 5 were interested primarily in villages; 2 in towns; 5 in counties; 3 in city areas; 1 in countries; 1 in the techniques of community surveys; 1 in regional planning.

Techniques of Social Work (16). Judging from the titles of research projects under this heading, especially for studies contemplated, it seems clear that sociologists are

turning to a detailed scrutiny of the actual processes carried through by social agencies. These sixteen scholars are at the opposite extreme from the hazy and metaphysical approach of an earlier day.

Population (12), *Race* (18), *Immigration* (14). Forty-four students are concerned with the problems herein grouped. The culture conflicts produced in America by bringing together peoples from the ends of the earth and all aspects of the race and nationality problems are being attacked vigorously. The five scholars tabulated under the quantitative aspect of population are not symptomatic of the interest in the problem as is indicated by the numerous titles in the statements submitted by students whose main interest lies elsewhere. Race and nationality provided the chief interest of 18 sociologists—15 in the general field and 3 in the Negro. Fourteen were investigating immigration and movement of peoples—8 being interested in the general field and 6 in processes of assimilation. Population in its quantitative aspect was the field of interest of 5 sociologists—Malthusian aspects 4; birth control 1. Under the qualitative aspect, 3 were interested in inheritance; 2 in public health; 1 in intermarriage of races; and 1 in eugenics.

The remaining data are largely self-explanatory. No detailed classification of the 13 criminologists was attempted, as little tendency to concentrate upon a single corner of the field was observed. The same statement is in part true of the 14 students of rural life. Incidentally many rural sociologists were grouped under other categories, notably the all community surveys.

Conditions in Industry (14), *General Social Theory* (11), *Social Processes* (17), *Social Institutions* (5). Of the 14 sociologists interested in industry, 3 were interested in the general field; 2 in industrial relations; 3

in child labor; 3 in personnel problems; 2 in conditions of labor; 1 in industrial accidents. Eleven signified a particular interest in social theory—2 in the history of theory; 3 in social ethics; and 6 did not specify. Seven sociologists were giving attention to those social processes not elsewhere indicated—social control 2; general political process 2; labor and politics 1; and 2 the general social process. Social institutions in general was being investigated by one sociologist; the family occupied four scholars; child welfare one; divorce one; one unspecified.

The eight students listed as interested primarily in economics together with the fact that in many of the other groupings there are indicated distinctly economic studies is due perhaps to the large number of educational institutions where economics and sociology are still in the same department and no clear line is drawn between them. This much may be safely said without taking up the cudgels of controversy as to the real line of division between these two subjects. In this economic group three were interested in general theory and 5 listed specific studies under income, consumers' demand, use of land, hydro-electric control, business concentration.

The writer was surprised to discover that only four individuals could be put down as primarily interested in general anthropology and ethnology. One of the notable trends in American sociology during the past decade has obviously been an increased interest in this field. Upon re-checking the questionnaires, however, it became clear that, while a great many are interested in anthropological subjects and have made small studies in that field, their real interest is elsewhere. Ethnology was the main interest of three sociologists, while one was interested in the general field of anthropology.

While interest in the methodology of research is enormous, only four individuals, less than 2 per cent, could be properly classified from the titles of studies as interested primarily in the refinement of the statistical procedure.

The nature of the last six research drives, put down as "miscellaneous" may be indicated under Who's Who analysis, hotel life, sexual purity, dance halls, social settlements, and historical study.

Two other matters of interest to American sociologists come out of a perusal of this set of questionnaires from the American Council of Learned Societies; the special financing of research activities and the extent to which research method takes a quantitative form.

Less than 40 per cent of those making returns received financial assistance specifically for research. Of 263 individual sociologists 100 were assisted in their work; 152 received no assistance; while 11 did not specify definitely. Of the 100 in the group receiving assistance not more than 10 or 15 indicated that the financing was adequate. The bulk of those assisted received a small sum for local travel, for a limited amount of clerical assistance or for other contingencies. There are many scholars who make clear their belief that their work is well nigh fatally hampered through lack of funds.

The final classification shows the extent to which quantitative methods have been and are being employed by these sociologists. This list differs from the others in that the individual research project, completed or under way, is taken as the unit. It

is a poor unit. It varies from a heavy tome to a thin brochure or even a small article. However, there was no other unit available and the grouping is given "for what it is worth." Incidentally the word "statistical" is used in its widest and most popular sense; when a writer indicates that his study is quantitative it is listed as statistical. One observes that the individual reporting *only* quantitative studies is a great rarity. Out of 816 projects, 371 have been completed, while 445 are still in process. The former show 145 statistical studies; 208, non-statistical; while 16 could not be classified. The research under way may be divided into 139 statistical studies; 295 non-statistical; with 11 unclassified. The research program of these sociologists includes, therefore, 286 statistical projects; 503 non-statistical; and 27 unclassified. Notwithstanding the fact that a smaller proportion of the later studies here recorded is statistical, the writer is of the opinion that quantitative studies are on the increase. More studies of a comprehensive and thorough-going statistical nature are indicated.

The problem of classifying these questionnaires has not been simple. Misinterpretation of a writer's meaning is easy where one is dealing mainly with the titles of research projects. However, if the groupings are reasonably accurate they give an excellent cross-section of research interests in the field today, for the percentage of returns is large enough to preclude an undue distortion of the situation.

The executive offices of the AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES have been established at 703 Insurance Building, 15th and I Streets, Washington, D. C.

The personnel of the offices is as follows: Executive Secretary, *Waldo G. Leland*, Assistant Executive Secretary, *Mortimer Graves*, Secretary of the Executive Offices, *Joe N. Bourne*.

THE LATEST IN THE PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY¹

FRANK H. HANKINS

NOT long since Spengler was the world's greatest post-war sensation. Germany, especially, was in the mood for him and bought upward of a hundred thousand copies of his work. This speaks well for the Germans, for he is as hard to read as a muddy metaphysician; and two volumes of him would keep the average member of the intelligentsia busy long evenings for weeks. The translation of the first volume of *Der Untergang des Abendlandes* into English created a mild stir among a limited group of persons who pride themselves on being "in the know," some of the critics pronouncing the man an authentic genius of startling originality and prodigious erudition and his book the greatest contribution of our generation to speculative literature. There can be no doubt of the man's erudition; that he is a genius is sufficiently evident from the mysticism, egotism, contradictions, disputable assertions, and scanty intelligibility of his work. Moreover, reading him sets one's mind to working and opens new visions of historical and sociological research. Whether his main thesis is true or not, (Spengler is certain he is right), he is so highly suggestible that, if the historians will only read and ponder him, there will be in the future less puerility of thought and less pompous make-believe in historical "research."

An introduction to Spengler's doctrine might begin with his idea that there is not one but many civilizations, eight or nine in fact. Here is the reason for the title

of the second work. Most of us have been brought up on the tradition that our own is a continuation of classical civilization, just as that was a continuation of the earlier Oriental cultures. We think of civilization, in other words, as a continuum, with lapses here and there such as the Dark Ages and with interspersed periods of great brilliancy. We delight in books setting forth "our debt to Greece and Rome" and think we have settled the historical problem of an idea, a custom, a race or a mathematical symbol by tracing it back to the probable area and time of its origin. Spengler holds all this to be childish futility. He sees the great civilizations so distinct in essence that there is no carry-over from one to another except in superficial appearance. Each culture has its own basic ideas, its own organic structure, its own soul. Each is *sui generis* and lives out its youth, maturity and old age with fidelity to its own inner essence, rejecting what is alien to its spirit and expressing in its science, politics, art, and religion the basic principles of its being. Thus the ethical problems that worried Ibsen would have meant nothing to a Roman of Caesar's day or a Turkish peasant woman today. All moral, religious, economic and political values are purely relative and can only be understood in their cultural context.

All this sounds a bit metaphysical, but the half of Spengler has not yet been told. He talks repeatedly of "the culture-spirit;" "the metaphysical structure of historical humanity;" "the soul of a culture;" "cultures as organisms." Not only is each culture an organic unity but there is such a thing as the general morphology of culture. This, indeed, is the object of Spengler's search. Although cultures are

¹ *The Decline of the West*. By Oswald Spengler. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1926. Pp. xviii, 443. \$6.00.

Civilisation or Civilisations. By E. H. Goddard and P. A. Gibbons. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1926. xv, 245 pp. \$2.00.

so distinctive that the inner spirit of each is alien to all others, they have such a similarity of form that they are composed of like parts arranged in the same order. It would not do, however, to think of a culture in the static terms of form, for it is something essentially alive while it lasts. But Spengler thinks of the different civilizations unfolding their potentialities at much the same rate of speed and through strictly analogous stages. The whole life of a culture ranges from 1400 to 1600 years and so perfectly uniform is the evolution of a cultural organism that one can lay a half dozen of them side by side and see that corresponding centuries in each produce analogous results. Thus the feudal period in each ends with the century when the period of kings and nations begin; an Alexander or a Napoleon occurs in the ninth century and the rise of the fourth estate in the eleventh. Our Western culture is now in its eleventh century, having begun about 900 A.D. We shall be entirely finished and dead by 2500, quite possibly earlier.

World history is thus like Mendeleyeff's periodic table of chemical elements. Once one has worked out the general scheme it is possible, if one has sufficient faith in it, to prophesy what is coming. This is attempted by Goddard and Gibbons who, following Spengler, see the end of Western Culture sometime between 2300 and 2500. It will be followed by Russian Culture. Meanwhile the ascendancy of materialistic America will become more pronounced, for America is for Western Culture what Rome was for the Classical, just as the destruction of German military power in the recent war was analogous to the destruction of Carthage by Rome. Populations in Europe and America are leaving ideals behind, becoming more and more Babbitt-like, replacing interest in the true, the good and the beautiful by an all-

absorbing and concentrated pursuit of pleasure and luxury. Art is dead and we have now only decadent copying and bizarre and fantastic constructions of unoriginal minds. Dissillusionment has set in; really great genius no longer appears. A cheap plutocracy vis-a-vis the massed and swarming proletariat of enormous cities will produce the inevitable Caesar whose appearance marks the end of democratic republicanism and the beginning of a thorough-going materialistic imperialism.

This very inadequate indication of Spenglerism utterly fails to convey an adequate impression of the author's erudition and historic insight. Even the popular work, readable and suggestive as it is, lacks the power of the original, unreadable and uncomprehensible as it is in spots. We have here the most uncompromising and penetrating statement of a theory of cultural determinism that has ever been made. It disposes of all geographical, racial and psychological interpretations of history in one disdainful aside. These factors may account for superficial differences in cultures, but the great morphological law applies always and everywhere—to China, India, Egypt, Peru, Greece-Rome, Western Europe and the future Russia. Great men are but symbols whereby one may determine what stage of its destiny a culture has reached. Alexander was to Classical what Napoleon was to Western culture. As over against the childish search for the exact moment when a telegram was sent or the adolescent moral indignation over the Kaiser or Poincaré, Spengler sees in historical events the inevitable unfolding of a cultural cycle. Men play their petty rôles in obedience to great forces which they neither understand nor can control and die quite oblivious of their significance for cultural history. The historian imbued with Spenglerism would study the evolution of art, religion,

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morals, philosophy, and science, not campaigns and dynasties, and seek, from a comparison of analogous stages of different cultural waves, to perfect the morphological law which applies to all.

We thus have here a book of which serious social scientists must take note. It is certainly not a book that one can readily digest but one feels that it is perhaps the greatest intellectual feat in the social sciences in this generation. Some criticisms and queries inevitable arise regarding its central thesis. He pictures a culture as like an organism with a law of growth and decay. But science tells us there is no compulsion in one of its laws. A scientific law is only description reduced to a formula. The fact that all cultures rise and fall during similar epochs of time is not a proof that they are "governed" by a scientific law. Each may have had its own causes and effects. Moreover, Spengler's theory has about it a haze of metaphysical intangibility. Whence comes this "organism" which animates a culture and which grows and dies? The theory is fatalistic rather than deterministic, for it places the historical process outside the range of tangible cause and effect. It virtually asserts that, though we may discover the phases of a cultural cycle, we need not aspire to control them. But the realistic scientist holds that if cultural phases have causes and we can once learn what these are, we might control them. No doubt we are far from being able, as yet, to control our own evolution. I personally doubt whether we shall achieve such a goal, but the attachment to science in our civilization appears to be vastly greater than in any other and science is our only hope of salvation. A few men of Spengler's erudition and insight might lay the basis for a new comprehension of historical processes and thus help man to change the

otherwise inevitable operation of the law of cultural decay.

But how are we to know whether Spengler is right? Prophecy is interesting and certain to arrest our attention if it forbodes evil. But it does not reveal causes and hence does not make possible that control over the future which would make the prophecy untrue. Its validity can be tested only by time when the prophesied events have become history.

Then there is a very serious pitfall in the Spengler method. In spite of the fact that he finds each culture unique in character and basic principles, he thinks they all develop according to the same series of steps or stages. Hence he thinks it possible to work out the analogous phases of any two or more. Now, reasoning from historical analogies is a favorite pastime for every kind of moralist, politician and designing knave. History can be made to teach anything, if one is sufficiently careful in choosing his history. Two great men or two epochs may have many superficial resemblances together with deep-lying differences. Moreover, analogies are made doubly difficult by Spengler's assumption of the unique individuality of each culture.

Sociologists are sufficiently familiar with the dangers of analogy because of its extensive use by the organismic philosophers. If society is an organism, what kind of organism is it and what parts of it are like what parts of its analogy? The answers ranged all the way from colonies of unicellular organisms to the highly integrated mammalian forms. If then culture is an organism, and each culture is basically unique but all cultures have the same form the problem of finding comparable parts is complicated. Moreover, it is not a problem in analogies as Spengler and his popularizers think, but a problem in homologies. Similarities of structure

rather than function are sought. But Spengler himself repeatedly emphasizes the relativity of all social values. Thus (p. 24) the ethical problems centering about Ibsen's Nora would have meant nothing to Caesar's wife or to a Turkish woman of today. But if all ethical, religious, economic and political values have a meaning for their own age only and can be understood only in the light of their concurrent social milieu, how could one ever find truly similar things in different epochs? The morphological law of Spengler's search which finds similarities for all phases of all culture waves thus appears extremely elusive. It is too much of a strain on our credulity to believe that cultures which are inherently and basically different will nevertheless reveal similarities of symbol and form throughout each of their fourteen centuries. Moreover, suppose Spengler's morphological law holds true. We are not then

able to get any light on the meaning of a cultural epoch for those who lived in it for this is unique and understandable only in terms of each individual culture. We moderns can, therefore, not understand the inner essence of classical or Chinese culture.

If, however, Spengler seems a bit fantastic and is far from convincing, he is eminently worth while. He gives one a vision of what may some day come to pass when an architectonic genius of sufficient caliber arises in the historical and social sciences to make our present-day masters look like mere tyros. Moreover, how vain and naïve appear all our furor for the social uplift when confronted by such a truly heroic effort to penetrate the riddle of history. Spengler at least serves to remind us that the fates still preside over human destiny and the gods may still laugh at man's puny efforts to escape their clutches.

TWO PHILOSOPHIC SOCIOLOGICAL THEORISTS¹

READ BAIN

WHILE not many people will agree with Professor Park that Simmel's *Soziologie: Untersuchungen über die Formen der Vergesellschaftung* is "the most profound and stimulating book in sociology that has ever been written," most people who have tried to read Simmel's work will agree that Mr. Spykman has done social theory a good service in making some phases of Simmel's thought intelligible to English readers. Mr. Spykman's book is based primarily upon

Simmel's *Soziologie*, 1908. Some use is made of *Philosophie des Geldes*, 1900; *Über Soziale Differenzierung*, 1890; *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie*, 1892; and *Grundfragen der Soziologie*, 1917. These books apparently contain Simmel's major contributions to the methodology of the social sciences, to elucidate which is Spykman's main purpose.

It is to be hoped that Mr. Spykman will write another book covering other phases of Simmel's work, such as *Einleitung in die Moralwissenschaft*, 1892-3; *Schopenhauer und Nietzsche: Ein Vortragszyklus*, 1907; *Hauptprobleme der Philosophie*, 1910; *Philosophische Kultur*, 1911 (collected essays); *Mélanges de Philosophie Relativiste*, 1912 (essays); *Goethe*, 1913; *Rembrandt*;

¹ *The Social Theory of George Simmel*. By Nicholas J. Spykman. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. Pp. xxix + 297. \$3.00.

The Laws of Social Psychology. By Florian Znaniecki. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925. Pp. viii + 320. \$3.00.

Ein kunstphilosophischer Versuch, 1916; *Lebensanschauung: Vier metaphysische Kapitel*, 1918; and other essays on art, religion, and philosophy, especially those dealing with Kant. Such a book would give us a rather complete understanding of Simmel's contributions to social thought. Mr. Spykman could render a valuable service by translating Simmel's major works. There are few men better fitted for the task. While his interpretations are valuable, complete translations would be better.

While the reviewer agrees with Spykman that the "social sciences" are in a bad way, are probably not "sciences" at all in the strict sense of the word, he cannot agree with the implications of the preface (p. v), that western civilization is trembling on the brink of destruction. It is true that "It cannot survive in its present form." No civilization can. Nor anything else in the universe. There is no evidence that "social forces are spending themselves in more ruthless conflict" than has always been the case; nor is there any clear evidence that "our control of social life is farther behind its growing complexity than ever before." Control is usually behind the "growing complexity of life;" civilizations have always faced crises, and have always been partially, but not wholly, destroyed. I see no reason why modern men should be more exercised over the disharmonies in culture than were the men of Athens, of later imperial Rome, of the Crusades, of the Renaissance, of the Reformation, of the French Revolution, or of the Industrial Revolution. Probably we should rather be more optimistic since we have a clearer view of the fundamental vitality of cultural continuity, and a clearer conception of the possibility of rational control of social transformations, even though our techniques for such control are at present conspicuously lacking. The concepts of "complexity," "cultural lag," and "institutional inertia" should

be challenges rather than symbols of defeat and despair.

This is essentially Spykman's view, I believe, in spite of his opening bugaboo paragraphs. The remainder of his preface is devoted to the thesis that the sociologists must resolutely face the problem of making their discipline a science in the strictest sense of the word. This they can do only by defining clearly the methodology of their science, by reaching the same international agreement upon the presuppositions and methodological techniques which characterize the physical and biological sciences. It is lamentably true that sociologists have no universally intelligible and accepted concepts, techniques, or conclusions. Sociology is in an essentially anarchic state with regard to these things. It has few, if any, accepted measures of accuracy, little standardized data, no clear definitions and generally agreed upon philosophic presuppositions.

Mr. Spykman's belief is that a discussion of Simmel's analysis of socio-historical reality is a step in the direction of this necessary pre-scientific consensus.

Space prohibits any attempt at an abstract of Spykman's book. The book is too skeletal and condensed as it stands; therefore, the hyper-condensation of a review abstract is distinctly unwarranted. He states his purpose in these words: "To indicate Simmel's conception of the relations between the different fields of theoretic inquiry into the socio-historical actuality, to give his contributions to the methodology of the social sciences, and to illustrate his conception of sociology as a science" (p. 3).

Perhaps the best way of stating Simmel's contribution is to refer to the Schmoller-Menger controversy over the methodology of political economy as described by Small in his *Origins of Sociology*, 1924, pp. 218-33. Schmoller advocated the strict historico-statistical approach to the study

of social phenomena, while Menger held that social science must proceed only by an aprioristic, deductive, categorical method. Simmel's view is essentially a reconciliation of these views, although no specific reference is made to them. He set himself the task of stating clearly the aprioristic philosophical presuppositions upon which the science of sociology must be built, attempting to do for sociology what Kant had done for knowledge in general. Simmel does this by pointing out that all social knowledge is relativistic, that is, it depends upon our aprioristic conceptual forms. Thus, "society" must be conceived both as "form" and "content." Society is the product of the reciprocal interaction of two or more persons. Society and socialization are synonymous terms for Simmel. The "content" of a socialization are the impulses, interests, or purposes, which cause interaction. These may be religious, economic, political, and so on, but they are not necessarily sociological data. Content becomes form only when it shapes the spatial proximity of individuals into some general form of reciprocal interaction. These formal relationships are the data of sociology. They can be studied scientifically only by the exact quantitative methods of science (p. 32-4). It is this view which has occasioned the use of "social geometry" to describe Simmel's system. The new concept of abstract social forms which may be studied by scientific method is the basis of the claim that sociology is a new, exact, specialized, limited science (p. 44). Since the social sciences are interested in society as "content," and sociology is interested in society as "form," sociology is not, strictly speaking, a social science (p. 47). On the basis of this distinction, he discusses the differences between sociology, psychology, social philosophy, and philosophy of history (Chapters III-V).

Simmel lays down several aprioristic

prerequisites for socialization, or the process by which the reciprocally interactive relations of people produce permanent systems of organization, or sociological forms. These are:

1. Men are known by each other only through the mediation of categorical concepts which never completely cover the characteristics of men. This results in a peculiar distortion of our ideas of each other but makes socialization possible.

2. Each element of a group is only partially included in it. Men are always members of many groups. Each man is thus always both "within" and "without" each of his groups. The aspect of his personality within a given group is "social;" the rest is individual, i.e., unsocialized with reference to the given group.

3. Socialization is the source and end of human beings who regard themselves as the sources and ends of socialization.

4. Harmony exists, but is never complete between individuals and society.

Some of the social forms discussed by Simmel are subordination and superordination, conflict, quantitative forms of socialization, spatial forms, persistence and expansion of social groups, and differentiation. These are all discussed in *Soziologie* and reviewed by Spykman, though not in the same order. For lack of space, Spykman has omitted Chapter V of *Soziologie* on secrecy as a social form, "Das Geheimnis und die geheime Gesellschaft," and has left out some of the interesting discussions of such topics as the sociology of the senses, loyalty and gratitude, nobility, hereditary office, majority rule, and the stranger.

Book III is a very able review of *Philosophie des Geldes*. It is pointed out that the development of money has led to a growth of individuality, through the increase of specialization and division of labor, the development of impersonal functional forms, resulting in an objective intellectualistic type of mental life.

In his conclusion, Spykman reemphasizes the necessity of renewed attention to methodology. The social science of the future must devote less time to historical and growth processes, and more to functional study. We must develop an adequate set of functional concepts before a meaningful time-series can be constructed. "Sociology has been taken down from the elevated position where it was enthroned as the synthesis of all science" (p. 272).

Simmel's social theory contains little that is new to a modern sociologist, but in 1908 when *Soziologie* appeared, the idea of a sociology that was not at the same time a social philosophy, a philosophy of history, a synthesis of the sciences, and a system of practical social work was relatively rare; and still is, for that matter. The conception of sociology as an exact, limited, specialized, non-ethical, natural science dealing with the interreactions of groups in quantitative terms is still a comparatively novel idea.

Honest sociologists must admit that the terminology of their "science" is woefully confused, their techniques of investigation very poorly standardized, and their scientific contributions remarkably small. There is very little consensus regarding either the data or fundamental presuppositions of sociology. Spykman's study of Simmel makes it very clear that we need to do much careful thinking along these lines, and that Simmel has some valuable things to say on these subjects.

Sociologists have dealt in generalities (often not so glittering, either) so long that most of them are totally incapable of facing the uninspiring drudgery of devising techniques by which to collect enough rigidly defined data to test their generalizations. Many of the impressionistic generalizations are doubtless sound, but few of them have been put to the acid test of quantitative determination. Most of them are so general and so little descriptive

of actual phenomena that they are not only worthless, but largely meaningless. The task of the younger men is to examine the assumptions and subjective conclusions of the "fathers" critically to see if they will stand the test of rigidly defined objective facts.

After analyzing the requirements for scientific laws, Professor Znaniecki gives what he calls a partial list of the laws of social psychology. The "natural" scientists formulate their laws upon the basis of defined closed systems of phenomena. Thus, while the relations between these facts are necessary and universal, they are also conditional, since the systems are merely assumed to be closed. The "closed" systems are always either arbitrarily artificial (laboratory), or merely relatively stable isolated systems such as the solar system (pp. 47-48). He rejects all of the attempts to formulate social laws, on the ground that personalities and societies are not closed systems, and hence the goal of social psychology is not the formulation of quantitative laws (p. 46).

While the reviewer agrees thoroughly with Znaniecki that formulations of "static," "empirically uniform," "evolutionary," "final," "motivating," "suggestive," and "quantitative" "laws" are unsatisfactory, Znaniecki's formulations are probably no better. In the first place, Znaniecki does not escape from the, to me, necessary assumption of closed systems. To state the "object matter" of social psychology, "those acts which are performed with the idea of influencing the acts of human beings" (pp. 57-8), is to define a closed system; to formulate a principle or "law" which purports to describe or explain the ways in which these "acts" and "influences" are related, is to make other "closed systems" of assumptions. Every one of his "laws" is an example of this. Much of his discussion illustrates the same point, as in the defini-

tion of "social situation" (pp. 79-95), with its "*social object*," "*expected result*," and "*instrumental process*." Many other cases could be given.

In the second place, his "laws" seem to me to add little or nothing to what we have long known about social behavior, except a new, and possibly better, terminological statement. Only time can determine this. His "laws," and methods of determining them, are essentially the same kind of philosophical armchair technique and results which have characterized most "research" in the social sciences. His "Law of Stabilization" (Law I, p. 112) appears to describe the same social phenomena that Thomas includes under the "Wish for Security;" Law IX, (p. 195) which he calls "Generalization" is much the same as Lippmann's "stereotypes," or Wallas' "symbols," or Durkheim's "collective representations;" and so one might go through the whole list of the "Thirteen Laws." His "social situations" and "social tendencies" seem equivalent to Thomas' "values" and "attitudes."

In the third place, the reviewer demurs from the author's implication that he has at last settled the problems of social psychology, or at least some of them. "There remain a number of socio-psychological changes which we have not yet succeeded in subordinating to causal laws or even in reducing to their simplest form" (p. 288). I question the validity of the statement which obviously refers to the "Thirteen Laws." The problems of social psychology, as of all other sciences, will never be finally settled. Such tentative solutions as we get must rest upon rigidly defined and quantitatively stated data rather than upon philosophical juggling of concepts. This juggling is an interesting and necessary prerequisite and post-requisite to scientific work, but it is not scientific research. The principal contributions of both Znan-

iecki's and Simmel's books are their discussion of the philosophic presuppositions of science. Simmel realizes this. Znaniecki does not. He apparently thinks he has written a scientific treatise on social psychology. What he has done is to make a series of interesting definitions and to re-state some well-known commonsense propositions about social behavior which have long been clamoring for scientific investigation as to their validity and quantitative relations. And still clamor.

Finally, in spite of his dialectic verbal distinctions and criticisms of alleged differences between his views and those of his predecessors, he carries along much of the philosophic furniture of the past in a rather uncritical fashion. "Subject" and "object," and "consciousness," for example, are used in an undefined and uncritical manner. The present writer finds himself much confused by such a sentence as this: "The tendency is, of course, not a substance materially divisible; but nothing prevents our conceiving it as a power which is one in essence, though manifesting itself in the form of many distinct actual forces entering into the composition of many distinct dynamic systems" (p. 79). The "social tendency" thus becomes a mystical entity, or a metaphysical term. However, as the author says, it may have scientific utility no matter what its philosophical meaning may be. He says that a "tendency" is the subjective side of an act (p. 67); an active, unanalyzable drive to accomplish a particular end, apparently "conscious" (pp. 69, 72).

In spite of the metaphysical philosophic predilection of the author, his book is well written and worth reading. There are no scientific data in it, however, and nothing that American social psychologists will find especially new or stimulating. It is primarily a terminological excursus to the "science" of social psychology.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND SOCIAL WORK

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

PRESENT CONDITIONS IN EDUCATION FOR PSYCHIATRIC SOCIAL WORK¹

MARY C. JARRETT

FOR our present purpose this discussion will be limited to courses that are intended to prepare students for practice in the special field of psychiatric social work. Courses in mental hygiene and social psychiatry for experienced social workers are offered under many auspices, and in most schools of social work some course of this kind is now required of all students. By these means, social workers who have not taken special preparation for psychiatric social work sometimes acquire sufficient knowledge of psychiatry to begin practice in our field and to make successful progress. In the beginning the personnel of a new group is made up largely of recruits from other fields; but gradually there comes to be a general demand for special preparation. While exceptions will always break the rules, it is to be expected that persons who have undertaken to fit themselves for this particular field will on the whole do the best work. Our first concern, therefore, is with the students in the schools of social work who are undertaking special preparation for psychiatric social work.

Psychiatric social work is now accepted as a special branch of social case work. It does not hold this position altogether

without dispute. Some social workers take the view that the mental element in social case work is so intrinsic that "all good case work" is necessarily psychiatric social work and that this term is, therefore, superfluous; while others regard psychiatric social work as so all-embracing in its points of view that only the psychiatric social worker is able to qualify as "a good case worker." Originally psychiatric social workers were unwilling to be classified as "a highly specialized group," feeling that their grasp of social case work was not narrower, but on the contrary broader, than that of other case workers, and that, since they were trying to add to the best traditions of social case work in the past the point of view of modern psychiatry, they did not deserve to have their endeavors relegated to a small section of the field of social work. At the present time, partly through their efforts and partly through a general diffusion of the ideas of mental hygiene, it has come about that something of the psychiatric point of view and some knowledge of mental hygiene is expected of all social workers; so that the psychiatric social worker may now be justly regarded as a specialist. However we may toss the terms about, the fact remains that there is a practical necessity for a social worker who is specially prepared for examination

¹ Read at a round table meeting of the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, Des Moines, Iowa, June, 1927.

and adjustment of family and community relationships as they affect the mental health of individuals. Not only in hospitals and clinics, but wherever there are such problems, the social worker with this special experience is of service.

At the present time, this branch of social work is called psychiatric social work. It is not of great importance to us whether the nomenclature of today is perpetuated, so long as we continue to define our interests and objectives with sufficient clearness to identify ourselves, in order that we may confer together for the enlargement and improvement of our particular work. We shall probably always receive into our group social workers originally prepared for other fields, and members of our group will likewise enter other fields. Social work, least of all human affairs, adapts itself to rigidity in thought or action. Flexibility, however, is in sharp contrast to slackness; and the lack of formulated purposes and plans results in dissipation of energy and loss of progress. We need to maintain a consistency in our conception of our field that will make it possible for us to develop our common aims as a group,—we seek to maintain what might be called a *working consistency*. And first of all we need to know what qualifications and preparations should be required of those whom we as a group, through our Association, recognize as qualified to practice in our field.

A number of schools of social work now give courses in preparation for psychiatric social work, and other schools are planning to offer such courses. Each school decides for itself what shall be the amount and character of work required of a student before she is pronounced qualified to practice. There is some uniformity in these plans, and there are also many differences among them, both in content and in method. It would be undesirable to have all preparation for our field designed after

the same educational pattern. Adaptation to different local conditions and experimentation with different methods are inevitable and also desirable. New methods should be tested and not prejudged. We are fortunate in having many opportunities for testing different educational methods.

It is important for us, however, to secure sufficient basic uniformity to preserve the solidarity of our group and the integration of its aims. One of the functions of our Association is to determine the basic essentials of this preparation for our field, not by attempting to assert an authoritative judgment of what constitutes proper preparation for psychiatric social work, but by interpreting and making known the results of different educational programs.

The fundamental question for us is whether we have the attitude that preparation for psychiatric social work is a period of professional education or of technical training. The student must obviously be fitted *to do* something,—in the clinics and organizations in which she will be employed certain tasks must be performed rapidly and reliably. A certain amount of technique in performing her duties is essential,—and a skillful style of performance can be acquired only through practice and training. There are persons of irreproachable learning and scholarship who are helpless in the face of a human problem or a perplexing interview. There are also persons of little education who know their routine thoroughly and can go through their day's work smoothly. The former type of individual is useless in the busy organization, while the latter can be very serviceable. This is one reason why there is a tendency among social workers to emphasize the training features of the course. Another reason is the tempting idea that the college course has already

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provided the student with a liberal education. On the other hand, in university circles, keen realization of what broad education signifies may lead to an overemphasis upon learning. If these two views were irreconcilable, it is certain that the emphasis on technical ability would in the end prevail, for in the active stream of daily work it is inevitable that the superficially efficient person should be preferred to the learnedly useless person. These two emphases, however, are not conflicting views, but are rather two aspects of a practical situation.

The attitude of our group toward preparation for psychiatric social work is, I believe, that it should be a period of education, in which the student acquires deeper understanding of life, more ability to find and evaluate facts, and the capacity to use her powers in practical situations. This capacity for work can be gained only through actual experience with patients; and it is only by practice that the student acquires the habitual attitudes and ways of acting that constitute her technique. But to learn the relatively simple technique of interviewing, recording, organizing resources, and other processes of social work, while essential, is only an incidental part of the course. The value of the performance, the ability to do these things effectively, will depend, after all, upon the student's education. When we speak loosely of "training courses" and "trained social workers," we are not using the word "training" in a strictly technical sense, but rather in the sense of a discipline, the aim of which is an educated person who is both sensitive to life and capable of action.

If we hold this attitude we are no longer troubled by the invidious distinction between "theory" and "practice." Theory that has no relation to practice is inconceivable in professional training. The social worker has need of all the knowl-

edge she can acquire. The student expects that the theories she studies shall have a bearing upon the concrete facts with which she must deal. Practice without theory is mere routine, a senseless drill in doing the same thing over and over. It is true that in a poorly organized course, the student may be obliged to do most of her own theorizing during field work; but even so, if she is of good intelligence, she is thinking as she works. Theory and practice are two aspects of every operation in a professional course.

The attitude taken by our Association on this question, whether preparation for psychiatric social work is to be regarded as education or technical training, will have practical results in relation to the courses that are offered and their content, the type of person admitted and graduated, and the type of school selected by students. In the long run, these concrete details will be the working out of the beliefs of our members. We should remember, also, that in thinking about the various features of a course,—the subjects studied, the required hours, the type of practice work,—the important thing is not *what* is taught but *in what way* it is taught and *with what aims*.

The schools that receive the largest number of students preparing for this field at the present time are the New York School of Social Work, the Smith College School for Social Work, and the School of Social Work of Simmons College. Graduate work in psychiatric social work is also offered at the University of Chicago and at the Johns Hopkins University. The National Catholic School of Social Service recently offered this special training, and the first two students in psychiatric social work will receive their M.A. degree this summer. At Western Reserve University, facilities for specialization in this field may soon be made available. Other uni-

versities have similar plans under consideration.

In England, plans for educating psychiatric social workers are beginning to take shape. Last November the Central Association for Mental Welfare held a meeting with the Joint University Council for Social Studies to discuss the training of social workers. The memorandum that resulted from this discussion outlines "an advanced course of six months' duration for social workers specializing in mental welfare," and also "an elementary course for the general social worker." The special course provides for lectures, demonstrations, and practical work during six months, open to students who have obtained a diploma in social science and to "persons of university educational status who have been practically engaged in social welfare work for an adequate number of years."

All of the schools now offering special preparation for psychiatric social work in this country, agree in requiring that the student shall have received the A.B. degree or otherwise acquired an education considered by the school authorities to be equivalent to a college course. They all give a Master's degree upon completion of the required work and presentation of a thesis, with the exception of the New York School which gives a diploma; but the student registered here may at the same time secure the M.A. degree of Columbia University by registering there for one half the points usually required. At the National Catholic School the degree obtained is the M.A. degree of the Catholic University. The University of Chicago has the facilities for still more advanced work in preparation for a Doctor's degree; but no students have so far taken advantage of this opportunity. At Simmons, the first year's work may be taken as an undergraduate; but students who are graduates of other col-

leges must complete two years' work for the Master's degree. All of the schools require a large amount of time spent in field work, a total number of required hours equalling from seven to ten months, part of which at least is spent in case work with mental problems. They all require courses in mental hygiene, social psychiatry, and psychology, in addition to the usual courses for students of social work. The New York School requires two years, that is, six quarters of graduate work. The Smith College School requires thirteen full months of graduate work, and considers that the student acquires more information and experience in this amount of time than would ordinarily be possible because of the intensive concentration of study and practice in its program.

There are decided differences among the various schools in the character, distribution, and amount of field work, and also in the methods of supervision of practice and the correlation of study and practice. Under the term "field work," visits of observation and attendance at clinics and conferences are included, as well as practice in social case work. The term "social case work" is itself not clearly defined and may include activities incidental to case work that are not in themselves practice in examination and treatment. The amount of time given to field work is about one half of the student's time in the New York School; in the Simmons School one-half during the first year and two-thirds during the second. The National Catholic School requires two days a week of field work during the first year and three days a week in the second year. The minimum number of hours required by the New York School is 1500, by the Smith School 1450. Students of the New York School have their practice work chiefly in the child guidance clinic, but some go also to the State Hospital or to adult clinics. The

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Smith School places its students in child guidance and habit clinics, in schools for the feeble-minded, state hospitals and psychiatric clinics and hospitals. The students at the Simmons School do their practice work at the Psychopathic Hospital and have some experience in the follow-up work of the Judge Baker Foundation. A period of field work in a family agency before assignment to a psychiatric agency is required by all but the Smith School. The arrangement of the time spent in field work varies as follows: two or three days a week with one or more blocks of full time for two weeks or a month; or two or three days a week in the first year, and practically full time in the second year; or a consecutive term of full time work as in the Smith School, which requires practically full time for nine months.

Methods of supervision differ. The New York School has on its staff a psychiatrist and two psychiatric social workers. The director of social service directs the practice work of the entire course from the time the student begins to specialize. She also directly supervises most of the practice work. In the Smith School, the directors, one of whom is a psychiatric social worker, direct the entire course, receiving reports and at intervals visiting the agencies where students are engaged in practice work. The immediate supervision is given by the social workers in the agencies. The Simmons School has on its staff medical officer and the chief of social service of the institution in which most of the practice work is done. The latter supervises the practice work, which is under the general direction of the assistant director of the school.

It is not possible to discuss the variations in methods of correlating theory and practice without an intimate knowledge of the procedure of each school. Certain outstanding differences are readily seen.

In the New York and Simmons Schools, the class work is given by the same persons who are in charge of the institutions where most of the practice work is done. In the Smith School, where the practice work is done in a number of agencies in different cities, the continuity of theoretical work is maintained through required reading, preparation of a thesis, and two hours a week of class work.

We find then a general agreement among the programs of the different schools, although there are some exceptions,—in respect to admission requirements, length of the course, degrees granted, content of lecture courses, and proportionate amount of time given to field work and class work. In the character and organization of the practice work we find decided differences.

If we look back of these apparent facts, there are a number of questions that are likely to occur to members of our Association, some of which may be briefly indicated here.

1. To what extent do the schools take into consideration the personality of students, both in accepting them and in graduating them? The New York School states in its bulletin that the student must satisfy the Committee on Admissions, that he has adequate physical and mental health and "a personality adapted to the interrelationships that social workers must undertake." Two years ago the Committee on Training and Placement of our Association attempted a tentative study of personality qualifications for placement in psychiatric social work. They pointed out the number of failures that are observed among so-called well trained persons, due to characteristics of personality and the importance as well as the difficulty of studying this subject. When the results of this initial study are made available, they will probably indicate the need of further studies; for the question is ex-

tremely complicated, and it is fundamental in all the problems of our field. There are some who hold that the psychiatric social worker should be a sort of ultra-human being, since she has so much responsibility for the very delicate business of dealing with people's minds. It would seem that the average person with even a little well-grounded psychiatric knowledge would be less likely to do vicious things to the minds of others, and that the psychiatric social worker is not to be regarded as a person equipped with a dangerous tool. We cannot require any extraordinary natural endowment of the student in psychiatric social work. There are, however, certain essential characteristics that we all recognize, which are not yet defined and accepted as a working basis in our plans for education in this field.

2. We wonder whether the agreement in content of lecture courses is as real as it appears to be. The descriptions of courses given in school bulletins, variously listed as Clinical Psychiatry, Psychopathology, Social Psychiatry, Elements of Human Behavior, Mental Hygiene, Problems of Childhood, Behavior Disorders of Children, and so forth, do not indicate whether or not the same information and principles are presented. We infer that all students in psychiatric social work are receiving the same general background in psychiatry and psychology, but we do not actually know whether this is true.

3. At what point should the student be encouraged to elect specialization in psychiatric social work? Some believe that it is an advantage to the student to recognize her chosen field as early as possible. Others assert that this choice should be held in abeyance until she has seen something of many fields of social work. The question seems to be whether a desire for specialization is incompatible with a broad view and wide interests. Some students

come with a definite decision that they will prepare for psychiatric social work or medical social work, or some other field, and can give good reasons for their choice. Others come with undecided desires and vague ideas of the various branches of social work. Should they be encouraged to make their choice early or late? It may be an individual matter for each student, some profiting by an early decision and others by a later choice. Can it be positively stated that in order to avoid narrowness, all specialization should be avoided during the first year? Opinions and experience on this question would be of value.

4. Is it important that the two years of preparation should follow the college course, or can the first year's work be done as well in the senior year of the undergraduate course? There are several parts to this question,—a. Can the necessary educational background be secured in three undergraduate years? b. Can the student be expected to approach preparation for social work with a professional attitude during the undergraduate period? c. Can the maturity and adult attitudes that have so high a value in our field, be acquired in less than two years after graduation from college? The fact that there are individual differences among students does not obviate the need for a general principle in this matter.

5. When the student has elected preparation for psychiatric social work, who should be responsible for guiding her through her course? The American Association of Hospital Social Workers has taken the position that wherever preparation for medical social work is given, it is essential that an experienced medical social worker on the staff of the school shall be responsible for planning and integrating the student's work throughout the course and for giving the instruction in medical

social case work. Is this type of direction also necessary in our field? Or is it sufficient, if the practice work is directed by a member of the staff who is not a psychiatric social worker and supervised by the psychiatric social workers in the agencies, while the instruction in psychiatric social case work is given either by the director of field work or by some other psychiatric social worker? This is an important issue. A student may take many courses and be exposed to much practical work, and yet unless her whole course is coordinated, she may not develop a capacity for judgment and reliable performance.

6. Should the school exercise supervision of the student's physical and mental health? Most schools require a medical examination before admission to determine whether the student is physically fit for the demands of the course. Last year the New York School introduced the custom of requiring a full health examination and following it up with necessary measures for treatment or improved hygiene. In a study of the health problems of the school, the examining physician had found that three-fourths of the students examined had no medical affiliation but had definite needs for some sort of medical supervision. The 1927 bulletin of the school states that the experience has been wholesome and helpful in giving the student an idea of his physical equipment and a better grasp of the philosophy of preventive medicine. This school also affords the students in psychiatric social work, opportunities for mental hygiene advice. The student who expects to practice in the field of mental hygiene finds the improvement of her own mental health an important part of her preparation. The question is whether the school should undertake to supervise systematically the students' health and to provide opportunities for medical and psychiatric advice.

7. The best distribution of the time given to practice work is still a problem. Both the student's education and the work of the agency have to be taken into consideration. From the standpoint of the agency, it is obvious that if the practice work can be arranged so that it is an asset rather than a burden, the agency can afford to give the student greater opportunities and better supervision. Only limited assignments can be given students who come for only two or three days a week. From the standpoint of the student, it seems equally obvious that a mind divided between serious contemplative study and active practical work cannot give to either the greatest concentration, and that there must be a loss of both time and energy in turning continually from one to the other. The custom has grown up of arranging short periods of full time practice work at intervals. Simmons allows three weeks full time at the end of the first quarter and the beginning of the third quarter; while in the second year all the time is given to field work, except what is required for one seminar and the preparation of the thesis. The Smith School claims the advantages of uninterrupted study and practice and gives nine full months to the latter.

The solution of this question will depend ultimately upon what we think of the significance of practice work in the whole scheme of education,—the relative importance of teaching on the job and in the classroom and the extent to which we expect the student to be prepared to carry responsibility. In regard to the first point, we must remember that the best teaching of case work may be done in the supervision of actual work, and that in *doing*, the student is not only acquiring ease in performance, but also information, knowledge of social conditions and human nature, and discipline in observing and thinking. The finest fruits of education do not always grow

in the field to be sure, but it is a question whether under wise direction they may not be cultivated there as effectively as in the classroom.

Another consideration is the amount of responsibility the student should be trained to take. The New York School emphasizes the fact, with which we would all agree, that "the training of a school of social work is no more than the first stage of professional development." Many of us believe that it would be of great advantage to our profession if all students could be required to spend a year after graduation in a position where they would work under supervision of an experienced psychiatric social worker. Even so, the value of such a year would be in proportion to the capacity the student had acquired during her training. The question is, how much capacity for responsible case work can be acquired along with breadth of view and wide interests? Students vary, of course, in their native ability and previous preparation; and when the general principles have been thought out special cases must be adapted to them.

8. The last question to be raised is the type of practice work that should be required.

a. Should all of the student's time be spent in one type of clinic or hospital? Can psychiatric social case work be taught equally well in a clinic for children, a school for the feeble-minded, a hospital for adults, or a psychopathic hospital with wards and out-patient clinics? Should the practice work be divided between two or more institutions? The advantages of thorough familiarity with one institution and community are well known. Are there still greater advantages in variety of experience?

b. Should part of the practice work be done in a medical agency? Are there sufficient opportunities for this experience in

the medical problems that occur in psychiatric cases, or is it desirable that the student should spend some time in a medical institution? In the National Catholic School, the field work of the third semester is in a medical agency, while one afternoon a week is given to observation on the wards of the mental hospital during this period.

c. Is it essential that some practice work should be given in a family agency before the student goes to the psychiatric clinic? One theory is that experience in a family agency is essential for a broad foundation in case work. The schools emphasize the importance of acquiring a broad general understanding of social work during the first year. "The first year gives a grounding in the principles which underlie the general practice of social work" (Simmons). The School "aims to give an understanding of fundamental principles that are necessary in all branches of the profession, and of scientific methods of studying social problems" (Chicago). There can be no disagreement with these aims. The question to consider is whether a period of practice work in a family agency serves this purpose better than any other arrangement. Since all social case work, when properly so-called, is family case work, the question arises whether the essential factor in teaching fundamental principles and scientific methods in their application to case work is the type of agency to which the student is assigned or the type of teaching that goes with the supervision. It is often assumed that the family agency is a general agency and therefore best fitted to teach general principles; but it is a question whether the family agency is not a specialist in community relations. Experience in every social field is so much gain, but it is not practicable. It may be that experience in the family agency is of primary value. The

question is, how can the given time be spent to the greatest advantage of the student in acquiring not only special skill but also a broad and fundamental understanding of case work.

These are some of the more general questions that concern us. There are many other more detailed questions that our Association will be called upon to answer from time to time, which deal with the actual content of information courses and methods of supervision of practice work.

Professional organizations have a definite responsibility toward education in preparation for their field. The form that

this responsibility should take is not always clear in the early years of the organization. In the legal profession, educational requirements were "lamentably low" (quoting from Professor Woodward's article in the *Compass* of September, 1926), before the American Bar Association "put its hands to the plough." It has taken our colleagues in medical social work many years to arrive at a plan for giving practical help in developing their educational standards. Let us hope that we may benefit by the experience of older organizations and that from the beginning our Association may take an active part in determining and defining the educational requirements of our field.

THE COMMUNITY CHEST IN VIRGINIA CITIES

GLADYS L. PALMER

RECENT writers have criticized the rapid expansion of the Community Chest plan of financing social work, especially in the smaller cities. They point out that the impetus of war financing campaigns and of the later business depression has interested business men in this as an economical method of centralizing financial campaigns for numerous social agencies, and that a genuine community program of social work on a scientific basis has been a secondary consideration, if present at all. This is due in large measure to the fact that there are few trained social workers in most small cities, and the emphasis of the business men who "run" the Chest is on economy rather than on adequate social work.¹

This study has been undertaken with a view to throwing some light on the problem for the state of Virginia, and indirectly for other Southern communities. Information was secured from city Chest officers and representatives of social agencies concerning the history of the various Chest movements, and a study was made of campaign literature and budget allotments to the agencies. There are at present six cities in Virginia which raise funds for social work by the Community Chest plan. Of these, Richmond and Norfolk have a population of between 150,000 and 200,000, Roanoke and Portsmouth populations of 55,000 and 57,000 respectively, Lynchburg a population of 30,000 and Danville a population of 21,000. The majority of these cities fall into the classification of

¹ Special attention is called to the following articles: E. M. Benson, "The Small Town Community Chest: Will it Last?" *Survey*, January, 1926 p. 506; F. E. Bursleson, "Community Chests in Small Cities,"

Social Forces, September, 1926, p. 87; C. M. Bookman, "The Community Chest," *National Conference of Social Work Proceedings* 1924, p. 19.

"smaller cities." Petersburg and Newport News also tried the Community Chest plan, but abandoned it after a short experiment. At the end of the year 1926, Texas and North Carolina were the only Southern states reporting a larger number of Community Chests in operation.² All of the plans are of recent development and may therefore be said to be in the experimental stage. The Lynchburg and Danville plans were initiated in 1922, the Norfolk plan in 1923 and the plans in Richmond and Roanoke in 1924. In all cases the Chamber of Commerce was especially active in the initial organization, together with the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., and the Associated Charities. Richmond, Norfolk, and Roanoke have full-time directors, Lynchburg has a full-time secretary, the others are directed by part-time officials. Richmond and Norfolk are the only cities which have had a Council of Social Agencies, although Lynchburg organized one this summer. This indicates that in most of the cities in Virginia there has been lack of coördination in the social work program, and little if any ground for coöperation among the agencies. Richmond is the only city in which the Council has representation on the budget committee of the Chest, which is by far the most important committee from the point of view of the control of social policy in the community. In Lynchburg and Roanoke certain of the agencies have representation on the budget committee, and in Norfolk, the director of the Fund is secretary to the Council of Social Agencies.

The funds raised in Richmond, Norfolk and Roanoke have increased from year to year but at a steadily diminishing rate. In the other cities the amounts raised have

fluctuated, increasing at one time, and decreasing at another. In most cases, the Chest officers and the business men of the community consider the Chest to have been successful as a means of increasing the financial support of the agencies, and as a means of securing a larger number of contributors. The Richmond Fund reports a three-fold increase in the number of subscribers, and Norfolk and Roanoke report an increase slightly larger than three-fold (excluding contributions from school children in all cases). The per capita amounts raised in 1927 varied from 0.9 cent in Portsmouth, to 1.6 cents in Norfolk, 2.2 cents in Roanoke, 2.6 cents in Richmond, 3 cents in Lynchburg and 3.5 cents in Danville.

While it is generally admitted that the various community funds have raised more money for social work than was raised by individual campaigns, and have eliminated some duplication of work among the agencies, there is considerable difference of opinion as to whether the standards of social work have been raised or the social work program of the communities expanded. It is the opinion of representatives of agencies in the smaller cities that this has not been accomplished, and there is some doubt in the larger cities as to whether improvements can be laid at the door of the Chests. It is for this reason that critics of the Community Chest plan have suggested that it may actually constitute a menace to the development of sound social work. They cite the perpetuation of ineffective agencies and the cutting off of appropriations to the most progressive experiments in the interests of economy, and the consequent lowering of the standards of social work in the community. There is evidence to support this contention in the Virginia cities experimenting with the Chest idea. There are at least two agencies in the field of child

² Texas reported 9 and North Carolina reported 7 Community Chest plans in operation. American Association for Community Organization, Bulletin. 27, December 1, 1926.

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welfare and one in the field of relief and rehabilitation in different cities, which should not be perpetuated another month on their present bases. They should be completely reorganized with professional

munity, and its Associated Charities budget for the year 1927 was \$5500. This obviously means inadequate relief given by untrained volunteer workers. Another small industrial city which has no ade-

COMMUNITY GUEST BUDGETS IN VIRGINIA CITIES, 1927

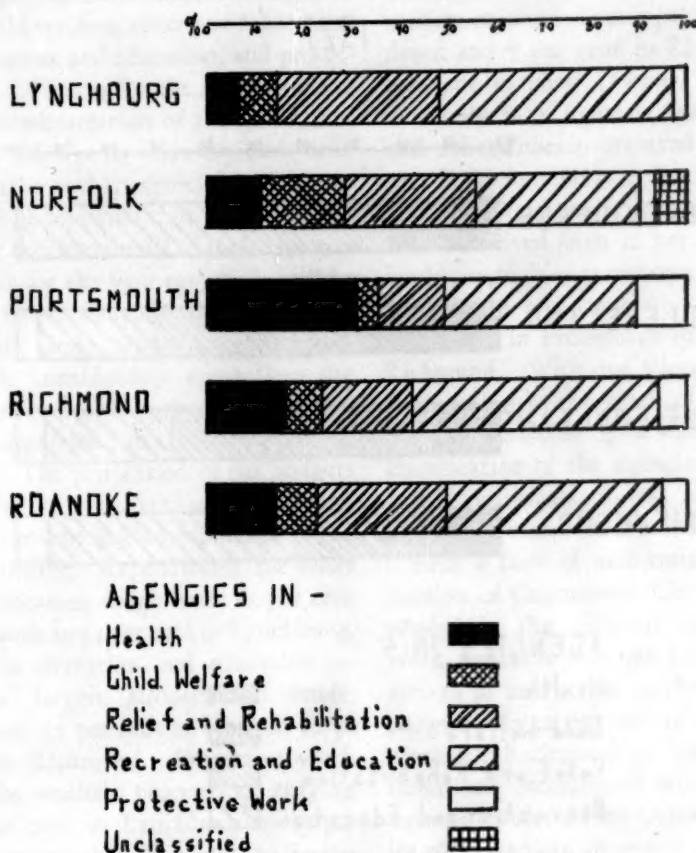


CHART I

assistance as a condition to receiving further financial support. One industrial city with a population of over 50,000 does not have a single trained family case worker on the payroll of any agency in the com-

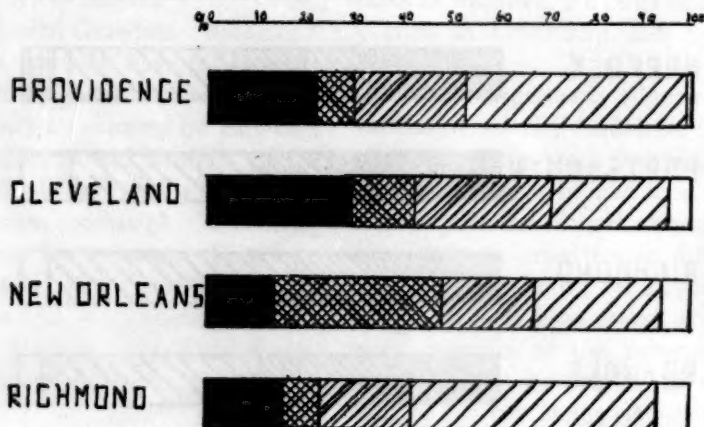
quate provision for emergency funds in its budget, was faced this summer with a serious unemployment problem in its largest industry. Special gifts by the employer concerned were necessary to carry the As-

sociated Charities work during this period. These are instances of the weaknesses in the Community Chest plan for small cities in which there are few trained social

opinion has not been educated to a knowledge of modern social work aims and methods. It is interesting to note in the budget allotments of the smaller cities that

COMMUNITY CHEST BUDGETS

PROVIDENCE, R.I. ; CLEVELAND, O.
NEW ORLEANS, LA. ; RICHMOND, VA.
1927



AGENCIES IN:-






Health	
Child Welfare	
Relief and Rehabilitation	
Recreation and Education	
Protective Work	

CHART II

workers to maintain standards. This is especially important for southern communities where the dearth of trained social workers is notorious, and where public

relatively the greatest support is secured by the branches of large, well-organized, national agencies like the Y. W. C. A., the Y. M. C. A., the Red Cross, and on a

smaller scale, the Boy Scouts and the Travellers' Aid Society. These are apparently able to present their needs more effectively than equally important small local agencies.

An analysis was undertaken of the budgets of the various Community Chest plans in operation in Virginia to see what degree of uniformity or variation might be found.³ The classification of agencies used by the Richmond Fund was followed. This grouped agencies under the five headings of health, child welfare, relief and rehabilitation, recreation and education, and protective work. Figures for the cost of collection and administration of the funds, and emergency allowances were omitted; only the funds allocated to agencies in the budgets were considered. A comparative analysis of the data for all of the cities was worked out for the year 1927.⁴ It will be seen from Chart I that Lynchburg spends considerably less, proportionately, and Portsmouth considerably more than the other cities for health purposes. The percentages range from 7 to 31,—a rather wide variation. The proportion of the budgets expended for child welfare ranges less widely from 6 per cent in Portsmouth to 18 per cent in Norfolk. Expenditures for relief and rehabilitation range from 14 per cent in Portsmouth to 34 per cent in Lynchburg. Agencies in recreation and education received the largest allocation of funds, ranging from 35 per cent in Norfolk to 52 per cent in Richmond. Protective work received the smallest proportion, ranging from 3 per cent in Lynchburg to 11 per cent in Portsmouth. This wide variation in the allocation of funds to the various fields of social work in Virginia in 1927 is

also found elsewhere. Richmond was chosen as the Virginia city which in all probability had the most developed program of social work in the state, and its budget was then compared with those of three large cities in other parts of the country, for which information happened to be available.⁵ Chart II presents this comparison in diagrammatic form. Agencies in health work received from 14 per cent in New Orleans to 30 per cent in Cleveland, while agencies in child welfare received from 7 per cent in Providence and 8 per cent in Richmond to 36 per cent in New Orleans, the latter an unusually high figure. Agencies in relief and rehabilitation received from 18 per cent in Richmond to 29 per cent in Cleveland, and agencies in recreation and education received from 12 per cent in Cleveland to as high as 52 per cent in Richmond. Agencies in protective work received from 2 per cent in Providence to 7 per cent in Richmond. With due allowance for some overlapping in the work of certain agencies in these cities, or for some errors in the classification of the agencies where insufficient information was available, the amount of variation is astounding.

Such a lack of uniformity in the proportion of Community Chest budgets expended in the different fields of social work indicates that we have not as yet arrived at any norms or ideal community budgets. Is 52 per cent of its budget too much for Richmond to spend on educational and recreational work? Is 36 per cent too much for New Orleans to spend on its child welfare program? Is 3 per cent too little for Lynchburg to spend in protective work, or is Portsmouth sacrificing its child welfare program to its health program when it spends 4 per cent on one and 31 per cent on the other? Ought we

³ I am indebted to Miss Anne Florance for assistance in computations, and for the preparation of the accompanying charts.

⁴ Complete information was not available for Danville.

⁵ It was necessary to know the names of the agencies receiving funds and their specific work.

not to know by now, something about the cost of adequate relief and the rate of incidence of poverty in an industrial city of 50,000 or 100,000, so that an estimate could be made of adequate budget support for a relief agency in a city of given size? We ought similarly to be able to estimate

services in certain communities and local problems, as one allows in one's budget for an appendicitis operation or a trip to Europe. Standards of adequate financial support for different fields of social work and the planning of well-balanced programs of social work need to be developed.

COMMUNITY CHEST, ROANOKE, VA.

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS TO AGENCIES 1925-1927

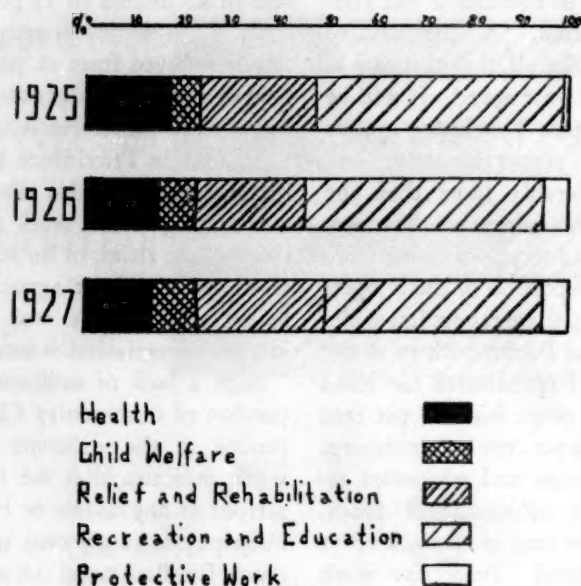


CHART III

the cost of an adequate recreation or health program in cities of different sizes. In short, we need ideal community budgets for cities of varying populations, just as we have individual and family budgets for different income-groups. Allowances would always have to be made for special

To these all Community Chests should aspire, or be forced by national and local organizations to conform.

An attempt was also made to see whether there have been noticeable trends in the expansion of social work as indicated in the budget allotments over

several years. For this purpose the budgets of Richmond and Roanoke were studied for the years 1925, 1926, 1927, as diagrammatically presented in Charts III and IV. The proportions of the Roanoke budgets have remained practically stationary, although there has been a

and educational work, and a marked decrease in the share spent on relief and rehabilitation. If progress in social work may be in any way measured by greater expenditures of community funds for preventative programs and increasingly smaller expenditures for remedial work, then Rich-

COMMUNITY CHEST, RICHMOND, VA.

DISTRIBUTION OF FUNDS TO AGENCIES 1925-1927

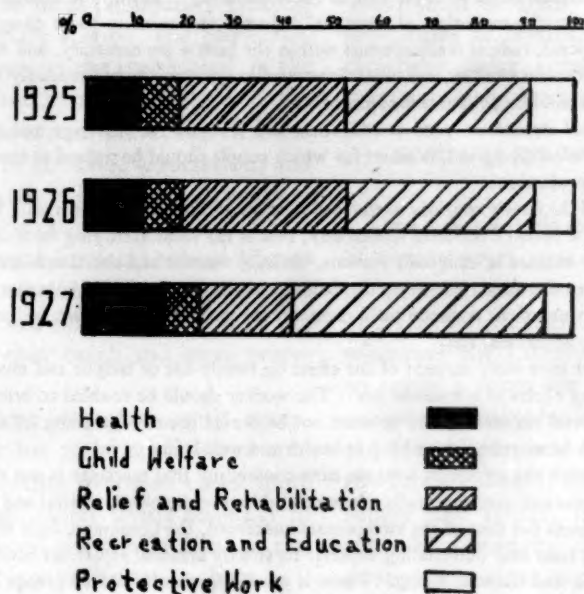


CHART IV

slight increase in the amounts going to child welfare and protective work, with a slight decrease in the proportion of the budget allotted to health work. In Richmond, on the other hand, there has been a noticeable increase in the proportion of the budget allocated to agencies in health

mond may be said to have progressed in its social program during this period.

While fully admitting the difficulties that abound in any attempt to estimate in statistical terms the efficacy of a social work program or method, it would seem essential to elaborate the use of objective

measures and comparative analysis before further generalizations are made concerning the "menace" of the small city Community Chest, or its adequacy. Methods of organization vary widely in Virginia cities and elsewhere, and are to a certain extent still in the experimental stage. The distribution of budgets, again,

varies widely from city to city, and standards of effective financial support or effective social treatment, which can be objectively applied, have not as yet been elaborated. These obviously constitute the next important step in making the Community Chests serve their communities in an increasingly efficacious way.

FINDINGS OF THE CONFERENCE ON FAMILY LIFE IN AMERICA TODAY

Among the findings of the Conference on family life in America today as reported by the Conference which recently met to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of family social work are: First, the American family is not, as many claim, disintegrating; it is, in fact, on as firm a foundation as ever, and is likely to continue indefinitely as the basis of civilization. Second, the American family is under-going radical changes in the form of its life in the home; in the sources of its income and expenditures; and in the relationships between husband and wife, and between parents and children and in its relationships to the community. Third, the changes in family life are corollary to the evolution of thought, industry and science; these changes cannot, therefore, be predicted; radical readjustments within the family are necessary, and the most important problem of social workers and others interested in the integrity of the family is to prepare men, women, and children for these readjustments.

The most vital immediate need is education and training for marriage and parenthood; family life, the Conference agreed, is an art for which people should be trained as carefully as for any of the arts or professions.

Not only will the family continue as the predominant unit of society, but it will, for the most part, continue on a basis of life-long monogamy; this is the most satisfying form of family life for human beings because of economic reasons, biologic reasons and social reasons. With the economic freedom of women, however, the family, which has been held together in the past largely by the pressure of the common tasks necessary for its economic support, will depend upon the strength of its affectional ties.

Industry must take more account of the effect on family life of fatigue and monotony, and other deteriorating effects of a machine age. The worker should be enabled to bring to his job the strength of social sufficiency, and he must not be denied the strengthening influences of his own family which he must be able to keep in health and well-being.

By contrast with the reformers who are now contending that marriage is not the state's or the nation's business and that, especially where no children are involved, marital and sex relations are nobody's business but that of the two persons concerned, the Conference feels that marriage has always had at least four outstanding aspects: its strictly personal aspect, its family aspect, its community aspect, and its state aspect. There is great opportunity for all groups in the community—schools, churches, women's and men's clubs—to give active help in more adequate education for marriage and parenthood.

How to make men and women so that they want to participate in the joint adventure of family life and how to equip them so that they may do it successfully are the real tasks which face America today.

Home is not a house, but people. The family, marriage and parenthood depend upon the relationships of individuals. Every phase of life in America today must share in strengthening the bonds of the family in the home so that it may meet the increasing strain of modern life.

THE COMMUNITY AND NEIGHBORHOOD

This department is conducted by THE NATIONAL COMMUNITY CENTER ASSOCIATION, and is edited by LeRoy E. Bowman, 403 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL COMMUNITY LIBRARY

EDWARD L. BURCHARD

THE public librarian is working out a new way of neighborhood democratic life in the public school community library. The social worker faced his in the local community clearing house and welfare station; the physician, in the health center; the theologian, in the community church; the educator, in the wider use of the school plant; the chamber of commerce, in the civic association; and the social scientist in the study of community organization generally. Economy is the first argument for local school library branches. Taxes, donations, volunteers can't be stretched far enough to meet the demands that they reach and serve everybody.

More intensive use of existing equipment therefore has to be made: more consolidations reducing overhead costs; more decentralization; closer living together in the neighborhood service groups at the risk of more minor collisions in them.

For illustration, take the present situation in Chicago. The state legislature can grant a millage yielding but \$300.00. Yet 50 branch library buildings are projected in a new program, one for each ward of the city, at a cost of \$100,000 and an annual maintenance charge of \$20,000 each, amounting to a million dollars a year that must be raised by taxation. The school board budget of

\$46,000,000 will meet this year a deficit of several millions. Shall it undertake its own school library system if the public library is divorced from it as in New York? What shall be done? Synthetic blends or substitutes of institutions or methods are clearly in order, combining low cost and maximum neighborhood service.

SOME LIBRARY EXPERIMENTS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

Let Grand Rapids speak first as a pioneer of twenty years ago. It was in this city of 150,000 that an agreement was drawn up by which the School Board undertook, whenever the Library Board requested it, to equip a room for library purposes in one of the school buildings, and to furnish the heat, light, and janitor service; and the Library Board, on the other hand, to supply the books, periodicals, catalogs and the librarian. This has been the arrangement since accepted by most other cities that have followed suit. Grand Rapids planned from the start to have these community libraries in most of the school buildings of the city and opened the first one December 1, 1906. Today this Michigan city is about to open its twenty-fourth school community branch. Its home circulation through these agencies alone mounts up to 492,696 out of a total city circulation of 787,532. This is in addi-

tion to deposit stations in 21 other schools and travelling library collections for class room use to a total of 37 schools.

To Mr. Samuel H. Ranck, the Librarian, himself once principal of a large grade school, and afterwards member of the Board of Education must be given credit for the early and continuous success of this public library system. The two boards, as indicated, are now distinct. His illustrated review and comments in a leaflet entitled "The Library and The Schools in Grand Rapids" published by the Library Board in 1916 is about to be issued in a third edition.

The next important contribution of the librarians in this coöperative neighborhood venture was in a city of 375,000, Kansas City—the exact date I do not know. There are branch community libraries in three high schools and the Board has ordered such libraries included in all high school buildings erected, as these are found capable of serving three or four grade schools in contiguous territory. Community libraries have also been opened in five grade school buildings, and two more are under consideration. This is in addition to separate branch buildings and the Central Library, and, of course, the usual swarm of deposit and travelling collections in many schools.

"I should hesitate to recommend," states Mr. Purd B. Wright, Public Librarian, "the erection of separate branch buildings except on the regional system, one such building to act in a supervisory way to several school branches, to provide book storage facilities, stock to be drawn as needed by the smaller branches." The Library of Kansas City is a part of the general educational scheme under the Board of Education, but is not a part of the school or instruction system. This naturally keeps the work of the two departments closely correlated, yet without interfer-

ence. However, Mr. Wright thinks the school community library branch system will work as well under two boards as one, if a contract between them is drawn up and both parties to it are really interested.

A "CLOSE-UP" IN ST. LOUIS

During the Christmas conferences at St. Louis the writer with others from the American Sociological Society and the National Community Center Association visited branch libraries in the Benton, Buder and Stix schools. The librarian of one of these branches told us that she believes she could get larger, better library returns for the local community out of several school community libraries than from one separate library branch costing the public the same money. The Public Librarian, Mr. Arthur E. Bostwick, formerly Assistant Librarian of the New York Public Library, told us that four years of experience with such coöperative branches has changed him from a neutral attitude to an ardent advocate. He believes in library wings for school buildings. "The school branches have proved surprisingly successful as community branches, the proportion of adult and juvenile circulation being approximately the same as for the other branches" is his comment in a statistical report of last April. The St. Louis Board plans further library use of school buildings, in fact, as rapidly as satisfactory quarters are provided. Impressions of St. Louis school library branches include:

First: Attractiveness. A fine-looking building. School closed for the holidays, but access to the library by a separate entrance, under the chiseled sign "Public Library." A long room (74 by 20 feet—10 feet shorter and 4 feet narrower than library spaces provided in the new standard plans of the Chicago junior high

schools). Red pressed brick interior with oak wall shelving giving open access to 10,000 volumes. Well-lighted and artistic effects. Good pictures. Central charging desk, with reading tables in one direction for adults; in the opposite direction for children. In short, cheerful surroundings.

Second: Discriminating adjustments to readers of all classes. Books for children of different ages at one end, around their tables, administered by a children's librarian; for adults, around their tables, administered by a librarian for adults. Difficulties conjured up about the disturbing influence of the two types of books in the same room, and mingling of different ages, were not visible. The spirit of freedom and enjoyment of reading was apparent, and we were told it is true of the children even during the hours the teachers come with their classes from the adjacent school rooms.

Third: Advantages from the union of neighborhood educational activities. Through the door entering from the school corridor would have come at half hourly intervals during school time different school classes to "browse," all learning at an early age how to use books and also library methods. Sometimes classes are brought from contiguous schools. The librarian visits the school rooms, not only to see that all the class are registered as borrowers, but to confer with the teachers about the daily subjects of instruction, in order to have the right reference material ready on the topics assigned. This sort of service would be impossible for the librarian in a separate branch a mile away. When evening school, community center, and neighborhood organization begin to use the building in the evening, the library will give the same close range service for adults.

Fourth: Harmonious coöperation in the same center between staffs of different

administrations. This is the rock on which have been dashed ideals of many librarians elsewhere. It is the outstanding complaint of a number of half-hearted efforts in other cities. But here it is working among the principal, the teachers, the engineer, the janitor, and a library staff of three.

Fifth: Neighborhood salesmanship of library service. Miss Gertrude May, Community Librarian at the Benton Branch, discoursing on the possibilities of school library service was an interesting example of a new type of community worker in action, showing resourcefulness in overcoming neighborhood apathy, lack of acquaintance, hesitation about going to a school building (sometimes dilated on excessively by opponents of the plan) and even that last refuge of inertia, want of time. Store window placards with pictures of the school and display lines of attractions, dodgers for the children to carry home, girl scout canvasses of the homes to extend personal invitations, talks to organizations, suggestions sent out with their monthly bills by business firms, notices in the factories, advertising slides shown by the local movie house, all these are but parts of her technique. Last year, the first opened, the circulation climbed in 12 months from zero to 103,000. Other school branches have reached 170,000 in four years.

Librarian Ranck of Grand Rapids, in his 1926 report said:

Noteworthy is the surprising way in which circulation kept up at the Alexander School Branch, notwithstanding the fact that only a little over a mile distant the Ottawa Hills Branch was opened, and about three-quarters of a mile South the Oakdale school branch was opened. It is an additional demonstration of the fact that the constituency of a new branch library within a short time, if not immediately, grows from new readers that are created in the neighborhood, rather than the shifting of existing users from another point.

EXPERIENCE IN OTHER CITIES

The advantages, or obstacles discovered by other cities will be presented adequately, it is assumed, by the new committee on the subject just appointed by the American Library Association, with Dr. Bostwick, of St. Louis, as Chairman. Space and the lack of as full information as we have referred to for Grand Rapids, Kansas City and St. Louis prevent more than the mention here of other municipal and rural school community library undertakings.¹ Among them are Newark; Minneapolis, seven branches; Dayton, four; Madison; Milwaukee, three; Seattle; Oklahoma City; Schenectady; and Toledo (ten proposed). Cleveland has nine such branches; Terre Haute, fourteen; and Chicago, one (although Chicago has nineteen branches in park field houses, more than any other city, and issues over two million books through them). Washington, D. C. in pursuance of a special act of Congress granting permission for the purpose, plans ten such branches in schools, with nine sub-branches and eight deposit stations.

In Chicago, again, the standard junior high school plans for 75 new buildings provide school community branch rooms of the St. Louis type, although somewhat larger. A working agreement between the two boards for their operation, however, has not been made. In the rural districts, the county circulating library movement uses the rural schools as distributing centers. The case for the School Community Library rests, in the last analysis on the trinity of: 1. Cheaper cost of building and maintenance; 2. Greater circulation both to juveniles and adults;

¹ For many of the figures to follow I am indebted to Mr. Frederick Rex, Chicago's Municipal Reference Librarian.

3. Better service. And the greatest of these is *Better Service*.

WILL ECONOMIC DETERMINISM SETTLE THE QUESTION?

Since nearly all educational funds, school or library, come out of a common public pocket book, and taxpayers are becoming increasingly restive about expense, more scrutiny may be expected of building programs and a rise in budgets. On this score this comes from Grand Rapids:

"Our experience is that two dollars of public money serving a branch library in a school, counting the expense both to the school board and to the library, will serve as many people as three dollars expended in a library building used entirely for library purposes" writes Mr. Ranck. He adds "We also need the separate branch library building for regional work." From the report of Librarian Wright of Kansas City, we have:

"One separate library branch cost us \$36,500 including equipment. Four school branches (two high schools and two grade schools) cost \$25,000." The St. Louis Public Library, operating both separate and school community branches gives more detailed comparisons, after four years' experience with both. The 1926 report shows it cost about twice as much annually to maintain the Crunden separate branch, \$14,597—circulation 176,167, as the Stix school community branch, \$7514—circulation nearly as great, i.e., 171,226; and all other branches of both kinds show the same proportionate figures. This, by the way, is about the circulation of the Blackstone independent branch in Chicago where a \$7000 yearly saving there on 50 independent branches would make the tidy little sum of \$350,000, or more than the whole yearly income from the new mill tax. Presumably the saving

to the School Board also would be in proportion, if the present 20 high school pupil libraries were made community branch libraries.

As to New York City, Fred C. Howe wrote in the National Municipal League's magazine for 1912 that \$2,595,000 were spent for branch buildings and \$1,422,201 for sites. This he says "could have been saved, had they been housed under one roof, as they should be, for the libraries ought to be a closely integrated agency of education."

CIRCULATION GREATLY EXPANDED BY THE NEW SYSTEM

The circulation rate as a measure of efficiency is to the library service what the death or morbidity rate is to the health department. More borrowers and more books drawn out per person are indices to the growth of the reading habits and to adult education promoted by a city's library. It is fair to take Grand Rapids, an all school community branch city, as a measuring stock to use on cities with all separate library branches, such as New York and Chicago even after all due allowances are made for the larger foreign population in the larger cities. There were 5 books loaned per person in Grand Rapids, to 3.6 books loaned in Chicago and 2.9 or a little over half as many in Greater New York City. Here are the actual figures: Grand Rapids, 156,000 people; 787,532 total home use of books—650,000 of these issued from the school branches. Chicago, 3,023,379 people; 11,002,736 books loaned; and New York City, 5,873,356 folks, and 16,944,905 books sent out.²

New York City, in other words, with its great system of big independent library branches, cannot compete with cities that

multiply their contacts and their intimate intercourse with neighborhoods by using a variety of school and park buildings. Chicago issues over two million books through its 19 park field house branches, and over half a million for home use from its high school pupil branches—together, 24 per cent of the circulation. New York turned over the entire school library system of 1,107,791 books (two-thirds as large as the New York Public Library collection itself) to the school administration. If the school library circulation of 8,559,690 is added to the general circulation of 9,018,339, New York makes a better showing when compared with Chicago.

BETTER LIBRARY SERVICE BY THE SCHOOL-NEIGHBORHOOD RELATION

If a better service to the public were rendered by spending more money on independent library branches and if there were adequate funds, then questions of economy might not be so pertinent. We want good service in education regardless of cost, but how does the score stand on quality of service alone? The parents and the homes are more easily reached and interested in reading through the children of the school who act as "carriers" to the grown-ups. The school library can be more neighborly, personal, and human for another reason: it serves a smaller area, and can know the home life better than the larger more distant and hence more impersonal independent branch. Conversely, "The experience of all cities is that where independent branch libraries are established, they succeed best if located in immediate proximity to the public schools."³ A wealth of statement summing up the advantages for

² See *Library Journal* for December 15, 1926, page 1116.

³ National Municipal League Review, October 1914, "The Place of the Public Library in the Administration of a City."

readers will be found in the St. Louis, July, 1922 Bulletin "Branch Libraries in School Buildings."

In passing one cannot help but be curious to know what the future leaders of the adult education, evening school, and community center movement are going to say when they find in the junior and senior high and many grade schools, as they can today in so many cases in Chicago, every facility and provision for the enrichment of the people's leisure time—gymnasiums, swimming pools, cafeterias, workshops, laboratories, lecture and social halls with motion picture equipment, art gallery, sculpture rooms, music and class rooms—everything but books. If there should be a library in the school for the day pupils, it would be padlocked and perhaps a sign would direct those seeking education after school hours, should they look for books, to a library building, one mile or two miles distant. In the face of all this favorable evidence piling up for the school community library, why do not all librarians, and for that matter school men, accept it?

One of them frankly told a Chicago City Club Committee the principal reason. The administrative officials like to be unhampered in their powers and jurisdictions, and they do not altogether relish some of the restraints imposed by a coöperative system. Fifty marble slabbed and beautifully appointed but educationally disjointed independent library branches, in bald words, are more pleasantly and perhaps efficiently managed and staffed than 200 smaller, less pretentious branches in schools serving with greater educational effectiveness more children and adults. To this the St. Louis Public Librarian answers pointedly:

"This raises the question whether the library should be more concerned with its own comfort than it should be with rendering service to those taxpayers who would otherwise be without convenient library service." Mr. Bailey of the Flint Library adds "It is better to reach all the people somewhat inadequately than a few adequately."

INTERRELATION BETWEEN CITY AND RURAL LIFE

JESSE FREDERICK STEINER

THE interrelationship of city and country is a question of vital concern to our rapidly changing modern civilization, and its full discussion would involve consideration of a wide range of issues and problems. In this paper this question is approached from the point of view of its bearing upon the organization and administration of social work in rural districts on a more comprehensive basis than has hitherto proved practicable. During recent years those interested in the improvement of social con-

ditions have recognized more clearly than ever before the need of extending social work programs into small town and open country communities. Thus far results have been disappointing in this field in spite of a few signal successes. It is impossible to promote any far-reaching plan of social organization without encountering the traditional conflict between city and country which has wrecked many schemes of social and political reform. An understanding, therefore, of city-country interrelationships becomes essen-

tial for the development of a sound policy upon which may be based more adequate and comprehensive social work programs.

Among the first important discussions concerning the relation of city and country were those contributed by the rural sociologists and others interested in rural affairs. The concentration of public attention on urban problems and the resulting tendency to ignore the social welfare aspects of rural life strengthened the conviction of rural leaders that rural and urban interests were so diverse that a separate organization was required to deal with the rural situation. In 1917 the American Country Life Association was organized for the purpose of drawing together the various agencies and institutions interested in the country life movement and in developing rural social programs in accord with rural needs. Under the stimulus of this new organization, much attention was given to pointing out the uniqueness of the rural situation and the entire unsuitability of urban methods of work in handling rural social problems. There was a great deal of discussion of the significance of rural attitudes which, it was pointed out, varied so widely from urban ways of thinking that coöperation between city and country was out of the question. Various types of experiments were launched in rural communities in which efforts were made to develop rural centers under rural leadership. The failures which sometimes resulted when organizations like the Red Cross or departments of public welfare attempted to promote rural programs, were commonly attributed to the employment of city trained workers unable to adapt themselves to rural conditions. The idea constantly kept in mind was the conflicting interests of city and country with the consequent assumption that rural programs could not be developed successfully as a part of the work of city organizations.

This breach between city and country in the field of social welfare was widened by the feeling on the part of some rural leaders that there was no place in the country for social work of the type that had been fostered in cities. Such activities were regarded as unnecessary, perhaps because there was no adequate conception either of the extent of rural social problems or of the nature of the services given by a well equipped social work agency. This misconception of the rôle of social work in the rural community was plainly apparent in the statement of a rural sociologist at the meeting of the National Conference of Social Work at Denver two years ago. Professor Burr said:

When a rural community is awakened by business, or politics, or education, or religion, we find the tendency for social buzzards of various kinds to swarm in to see what they can get out of it for their organization. They have their various programs to impose upon the community. The rural community does not need them. . . . Social workers are usually the worst sort of benevolent tyrants. Rural people have been especially tyrannized in this regard by their well meaning institutional friends. They are continually being offered the "benevolent end of a despotism."

The rural community ideal, then, is to keep natural social forces in politics, business, education, religion, alive and active and operating within and without the community, arouse and awaken resident forces within the community, and then as far as professional social workers are concerned, give the community absent treatment.

While this extreme attitude is not of course shared by all rural community leaders, it is indicative of a widely prevailing distrust of social work programs, which has made very difficult any coöperation between city and country workers in dealing with social problems. Unfortunately the history of urban social work has furnished a strong basis for this feeling that the rural territory has little to gain through the ministrations of professional social workers. As is well known, social

work was developed to deal with the social problems of the congested city. Its technique grew out of the experience gained in handling city problems. Its workers were city trained and their professional interests were largely confined to the urban situation with which they were familiar. The country districts were for the most part ignored at first because of lack of knowledge of the extent of its social problems and later because of the difficulty of maintaining proper standards of work under rural conditions. The first beginnings of social work in the small town and rural community were looked upon in a patronizing way and with considerable disfavor by urban social workers unless perchance they were presided over by social workers whose reputation had been established by city experience. Following the late war when the Red Cross proposed to take the rural territory as its field for the extension of Home Service, there was much protest by urban social workers who feared this would result in the lowering of professional standards. It has only been within recent years that the National Conference of Social Work has given much attention to rural social organization. The professional social workers, as a whole, have neither by their sympathetic understanding of this task nor by any sustained attention to this problem succeeded in breaking down the prejudice that exists against their activities when carried on in rural communities. On the contrary, this prejudice has too often been accentuated by their superior attitude in their contacts with rural people. The promotive work of national organizations in the small towns and open country tends to be regarded as a missionary enterprise, and is therefore strenuously resisted by the rural people because of its implications of their inferiority. The urban social workers, both by

their earlier attitude of indifference and by their more recent efforts to bring social salvation to the out of the way places have effectually joined hands with rural leaders in perpetuating the traditional conflict between city and country.

This rural-urban misunderstanding in the field of social work is of course merely a reflection of the deep-seated conflict of interests in other fields of rural-urban relationships. In the past there has been ample reason for the development of these divergent interests to which so much prominence has been given by students of rural problems. Differences in occupation, in social contacts, in manner of life, and in economic interests, easily account for the barriers that tend to grow up between urban and rural people. Where these barriers have been strengthened by open economic and political conflict, the situation has become serious indeed. This is especially true in places where merchants have fought against the organization of farmers' coöperative undertakings and where the latter have retaliated by organizing into a political group to defend their occupational interests. In any plan to unite rural and urban people in support of a common undertaking, there must be full recognition of the strength and significance of the various forces that tend to keep the city and country apart. The situation as it has existed in the past seems to have given ample justification to the promotion of separate organizations in behalf of rural interests. This specialized approach to rural problems has directed public attention to this neglected field and has been a great factor in the improvement of conditions.

Nevertheless, sound statesmanship in planning for the future must take into account not merely past experience but changes in the situation that make inevitable some modifications of accepted poli-

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cies. Few could have predicted the vast changes that have in many ways transformed rural life during the past two decades. The coming of the automobile, improvement of roads, establishment of rural mail delivery and telephone service, the invention of the radio, are among the factors that have broken down in large measure rural isolation and are facilitating the entrance of the farmers into a larger world far removed from the local neighborhood to which they were bound in the past. These larger social contacts are overcoming the traditional conservatism and provincial attitudes of the rural people that have always been pointed out as their most striking characteristics. The farmer who formerly rode behind his tired horse to the neighboring village now drives in his car to the more distant city to transact his business and enjoy its recreational facilities. The added sense of power this gives him and his increased feeling of self-respect can hardly be overestimated. His social status has been placed on a better basis and through these wider contacts he becomes more able to participate in the management of community affairs.

In other ways equally significant the city and country are coming together. The suburban movement facilitated by more rapid means of transportation is extending the influence of the city far out beyond its borders into areas hitherto regarded as primarily rural and small town in their essential interests. The decentralizing trend in industry is carrying this movement still further and possesses great possibilities not merely in promoting city-country relationships but in improving the economic conditions of the farmer by supplying him with employment during the slack farming season. Undreamed of changes in rural life still lie ahead with the coming of hydro-electric power cheap enough for use in operating farm machin-

ery and in supplying the farm home with modern conveniences. In so far as it is possible to predict, it seems that we are on the verge of a new era in which rural areas will hold a position of greater importance and power that will necessitate profound modifications in the traditional adjustments between the country and the city.

Nevertheless, in spite of this trend in the direction of a more satisfying rural life with closer relationships with the city, this process has not yet gone far enough to overcome the disabilities of the old order. On every hand during this period of rapid change, there are found serious social problems in the country districts to which no adequate attention is being given. Especially is this true in those rural sections where the productivity of the soil is low and isolation from the centers of population makes social contacts difficult. There are still vast areas in the open country where conservatism makes people hostile to new ideas and their social institutions are ineffective because of lack of proper support. In such places recent investigations have shown the wide prevalence of social problems practically ignored by the leaders in the community. The supervisors of field work in the School of Public Welfare in the University of North Carolina had at one time this past winter more than a hundred active cases found in the rural county in which the University is located. Among these were cases of feeble-mindedness, illegitimacy, dependent and neglected children, child labor, juvenile delinquency, truancy, children needing orthopedic care, mother's aid, and other similar problems familiar to social workers everywhere. Out of the three year demonstration in public welfare which has just been completed, there has come the conviction that adequate attention to social problems in a

rural county requires a staff of at least two or three trained workers equipped to travel wherever their services are needed. And yet at a session of one of the kindred groups meeting in connection with the National Conference of Social Work at Des Moines, one of the subjects for discussion was, "Should there be a professional social worker in every rural county?" It has been a long time since such a subject would have been seriously proposed for discussion with reference to the city, for the city's need of well equipped social agencies is accepted as a matter of course. The fact that this is not yet true of the small town and open country is indicative of the failure of rural leaders to understand the real nature and function of social work and the possibility of adapting its methods to rural situations.

A step of great significance in preparation for the closer rural-urban relationships of the future would be a thorough-going alliance of rural and urban forces in dealing with rural social problems. After all, the fortunes of the city are so linked up with rural affairs that neither group can afford to ignore the interests of the other. In a very real sense the future of our nation is dependent upon the production of an adequate food supply, and therefore all conditions that affect agricultural development become a matter of national concern. The tendency toward folk depletion of the rural districts through city migration, the inability of many farmers under present conditions to maintain a decent standard of living, the low standards of rural education, lack of attention to problems of hygiene and sanitation, the unattractiveness of rural life because of meager social contacts and unsatisfying recreational opportunities, and the decreasing efficiency of many rural institutions, are a few of the important questions that are awaiting solution. In dealing

with the economic aspects of these rural problems, the principle of state and federal responsibility has been accepted and large appropriations have been made to improve agricultural conditions and raise the financial status of the farmer. Such a policy has been justified by the needs of the rural situation, and the results thus far secured have greatly encouraged those who have sponsored this means of rural improvement.

But the social aspects of the rural problem have not been handled in such a comprehensive and farsighted manner. Some apparently have thought that the raising of the economic position of the farmer would be followed as a matter of course by the solution of his social problems. Others who have recognized the need of paying more direct attention to the farmer's social welfare interests have assumed that with reference to this matter the farmers must stand on their own feet and that outside aid and leadership would be a mistaken policy. As a result of this divided opinion nothing comparable to the Farm Bureau Movement has been devised on a nation-wide basis to deal with rural social problems. For the most part, responsibility for work in this field has fallen upon some private agencies organized on a county basis and upon county departments of public welfare found in several of the states.

This county plan of organization, even though its administration thus far has not been entirely satisfactory, seems to be the most available means of uniting city and rural people in support of a social welfare program. It is a political unit with which the people are familiar and in most cases contains enough wealth to furnish the financial support. The reorganization of city social agencies on a county basis with proper provision for participation of the rural districts in their management and support would be a great step forward in

the promotion of improved city-country relationships. Through such a plan rural and city leaders would have closer social contacts and would gain a better insight into their common problems. The experience of the Red Cross with its county chapters during the past decade has shown the feasibility of such a plan of administration although in some instances there has been a neglect of the rural territory. Of course extension of jurisdiction with no increase of personnel would be a meaningless gesture. Successful development of this county wide work would perhaps involve the establishment of a bureau of rural service with its own staff of rural workers within the county organization. Careful attention would also need to be given to devising a technique suitable for rural conditions. But there are no inherent difficulties in such a joint plan of administration. At this time when changed conditions are bringing city and country together, urban social workers should be among the first to plan a reorganization of their work on a basis wide enough to include the surrounding rural territory.

It is doubtful, however, whether privately supported social agencies can ever meet the strain of a comprehensive service. This proposed extension of social work into rural communities may impose a financial burden that cannot be carried. The rural

people do not have the surplus wealth that would enable them to contribute liberally to social agencies, and the experience of community chests in recent years leads to the conclusion that we are approaching the upper limits of the giving power of our cities. Perhaps financial limitations will make it necessary for this wider extension of social work to be assumed as a governmental responsibility. The recent development of the county system of public welfare points to one means of solving this problem. The county departments of public welfare in North Carolina working in coöperation with the State Department of Public Welfare seem especially well adapted to those sections of our country not yet dominated by large industrial centers. There are however unsolved problems in connection with division of authority between city and county governments that will require further study and experimentation. It is highly desirable that urban social workers should take a deeper interest in the public welfare movement and seek the passage of such legislation as is necessary to promote its more rapid growth on sound administrative lines. Through this means the city and country can then join hands in dealing with their common social problems and thus prepare the way for the closer interrelationships that the future will require.



COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN GREATER ST. LOUIS

ELWOOD STREET

SAINT LOUIS presents an interesting problem in community organization.

It is a community split in every direction by strong cleavages of greater or less depth.

These cleavages are, first of all, territorial. The city of St. Louis was for a hundred years divided into two parts, north and south, by the barrier of the Mill Creek Valley, on account of which rivalries and misunderstandings developed and because of which community-wide co-operation was difficult. Moreover, unlike every other large city in the country, St. Louis is not part of a county but is entirely separate in government from St. Louis County. This complete administrative separation has resulted in rivalries and bad feeling in relationship which ordinarily is seen to present common concern. Furthermore, St. Louis is separated from what would ordinarily be part of its civic and social content by the Mississippi River. State and city lines are drawn down the middle of this turbid flood. East St. Louis, Madison, Granite City, and Venice are separate communities and part of a separate commonwealth. Their competition with St. Louis for industrial performance and the different state laws under which they operate have made operation different in this field where all human interests are really in common.

National as well as territorial cleavages have appeared. The city was founded by the French and much of the French influence has remained. The city was developed by a tremendous German influx in the forties and fifties and while the Germans are almost all now members of the second or third generation, the World

War brought about a serious tension which was not conducive to community spirit.

Racial as well as territorial and national are these cleavages. Over a tenth of the population of St. Louis is Negro. The Negro finds himself existing in a city northern in industrial development but largely southern in its inter-racial attitude. Pressure of Negro population upon the available living space has caused very real friction and East St. Louis, part of the larger community, was the scene of one of the greatest race riots the country has known.

Added to these other cleavages is that of religious difference. Where the balance of power is even, rivalry is likely to be the more intense and in St. Louis no religious group can claim a majority of the population. The Roman Catholic population is estimated at approximately 40 per cent of the total; Protestant, 35 per cent; and Jewish 10 per cent; with the remaining 15 per cent unaccounted for. Moreover, some of the large Protestant religious groups have had special denominational enthusiasms which have made them hold aloof from coöperation with the other Protestant denominations.

These cleavages are intensified by the age of the community and by its relative slow growth in recent years. This means that these cleavages are deep and wide. While the old traditions of difference have remained strong relatively few new people have come in to fill in these community crevasses with their own indifference to such traditions and their own concern in a wider community life. A further product of this antiquity and perhaps also of the isolation of St. Louis (for it is the largest city between Chicago and the Pacific

coast) has been the conservatism of the community, which has bred some unwillingness to adopt new methods or to alter old relationships.

These ancient divergences have been expressed in many forms of group life. Political differences have sometimes taken their flavor from religious and national differences. For example the Board of Alderman of the city of St. Louis is Republican and almost every alderman is of German descent, which suggests that in St. Louis, at least, the German element has shown a political genius akin to that which is supposed to belong to the Irish in other communities.

National differences are indicated by many national societies of various kinds.

St. Louis, by very reason of its religious diversity, is a city of churches and a city of fraternal orders with religious connections, many of which have built impressive temples as vivid evidence of the intensity of their fraternal beliefs.

A further evidence of this separation is found in the very considerable number of small communities which surround St. Louis, both in St. Louis County, Missouri, and in Illinois. Each is separate from the metropolitan city and tends to hold aloof from its neighbor.

Surely the task of securing unified effort for common welfare from these almost innumerable groups is a difficult one.

The consequence of these deep and numerous cleavages and of the many forms of group life which have been created by them is seen in the status of organized humanitarian activity in greater St. Louis. Until a few years ago charitable and philanthropic agencies were almost all low in their standards of service as compared with standards in communities farther to the east and north. The personnel was often low in quality and training; partly because of inadequate financing; partly because of

the content of governing boards with mediocrity. These agencies were very numerous, over 150 in all, with differing religious, historic, racial and national backgrounds. Much of their service was duplicated while at the same time many of the agencies did not completely or adequately cover their natural fields of activity and in many areas of need no active work was being carried on at all. These agencies, moreover, were split by cliques representing various rivalries which further diminished their effectiveness. At the same time the public seemed in the main indifferent to their work. Those people who were interested, seemed in the main to derive their concern from sentimentality rather than mentality.

Certainly, here was a pretty problem for community organization.

St. Louis has gone at this problem in two ways.

In the first place, only recently an association has been organized with purposes to include St. Louis and the adjacent counties on both sides of the Mississippi River in one comprehensive plan for the development of transportation, recreation, health, social welfare, and other phases of the common life. This association is just being organized. It has great possibilities for united action on common interests.

The second phase of community organization is found in the Community Council of St. Louis, whose activities are described by its slogan, "Team Work for a Better St. Louis."

It is made up of 91 charitable, philanthropic, civic and social agencies both public and private, with a broad basis of eligibility. Each organization sends two delegates, one board member and one a social worker, to the Community Council so that the point of view of both lay and professional worker is utilized. The community Council is organized into depart-

ments corresponding to the various interests of its agencies and also into four administrative divisions; the Purchasing Bureau for standardized large scale buying; the Social Service Exchange, for the elimination of duplication of service; the Speakers' Bureau, a clearing house for speakers on social topics, to individuals and families; and the Community Fund, a separate corporation from the Community Council, for the joint financing of fifty of the Council's member organizations.

Through these departments and its committees the Community Council, has attempted to preserve a continuous attitude of evolution rather than revolution; of operation on the basis of knowledge of the racial, religious, and historical differences of agencies; and of their varying personalities as expressed by these organizations. It attempts to build up confidence in the fairness and responsibility of the Community Council and mutual understanding between agencies. It seeks to remove the ancient causes of rivalry and through a bit of Freudian social psychology attempts to "sublimate" complexes and remove causes of "repression." It has attempted to bring about united effort where there were matters of common concern and yet has not attempted to affect its member organization in those respects of individuality and difference which are fundamental to their existence.

The purposes of this team work for a better St. Louis include the development of standards, the improvement of personnel, the elimination of duplicated effort, the promotion of coöperation, the development of new activities, the prevention of undesirable new activities which are proposed, the education of the community to a better comprehension of the problems of social work, and the courses which create these problems, and legislative action when necessary.

The methods of the Community Council include fact finding both through the Research Department which now is being developed, and through the conduct of special surveys by competent outside authorities; such for example, as surveys of health and child welfare in the community which are now being discussed by the Community Council with the American Public Health Association and the Child Welfare League of America. The method followed by the Council is "fact-presentation" both through Council Committees, departments and the community at large. Next comes discussion of all of the facts which are available through Council Committees and departments. Following that is democratic participation by all agencies concerned in the making of the decision of the group. Next in order is agreement so far as possible of the course to be followed. Finally comes action either by member organizations to whom the responsibility of executing the plan is delegated or by specially organized groups in the Community Council itself or by Council departments and committees already existing.

These purposes have been fulfilled and these methods justified by the results of Community Council operation. It has unquestionably set improved standards of operation of member agencies as, for example, in the field of the day nursery where recommendations of the Day Nursery Committee of the Children's Department of the Council have been enacted into regulations by the City Health Department and are enforced by the Municipal Nurses. Conditions which were almost unbelievably bad have been raised to high level and progress is still being made.

The personnel of member agencies has been greatly improved by discussion through Council committees of standards of personnel through informal advice given to agencies.

Duplicated effort has been eliminated through such activities as the Committee on the Inter-relationship of Case Working Agencies and through the operation of the Social Service Exchange.

Coöperation has been made possible in many ways.

New activities have been developed at the initiative of the Council as for example in the creation of a special bureau for the handicapped by the St. Louis Chapter of the American Red Cross out of recommendations of the Health Department of the Community Council.

Proposed activities, found to be unnecessary, have been prevented.

The public has been educated through the Speakers' Bureau which supplies speakers to all groups desiring addresses on social and civic questions, through the publication of the Community Courier, a bi-monthly journal which is sent to all board members and staff members of Council agencies, to ministers, priests, rabbis and other key people; and through continuous newspaper publicity on the work of the Community Council departments and committees.

Legislation has been effected, as in the passage of an ordinance creating a City Hospital Social Service Department following a survey of the need for social service in city institutions.

Research activities are shown in the development of information regarding the districts into which St. Louis has been divided. The general coöperative aspects of the Council have been revealed in the development of this district plan which reduces St. Louis to manageable communities in which information as to social problems may be disseminated. Coöperative action will be developed through district councils for lessening of these problems and for promotion of district well being on a competitive basis much like

that described at last year's meeting of the National Community Center Association by Aubrey Williams in his story of the Welfare competition between Wisconsin cities.

The Community Council does not consider itself a complete demonstration of the possibilities of community organization. It realizes that it includes only social and civic agencies and only a part of them; that it has not by any means completely changed public opinion from the purely sentimental to a combination of intelligence and sentiment. The Council believes, however, that progress is being made.

The Council has seen quite clearly that other groups in the community are not touched to any great extent by the Community Council's activities, Fraternal groups, religious groups, business groups still pursue their divergent activities without much common concern for the human welfare. Moreover, it has been difficult to get a real sense of community in a city the size of St. Louis.

In order to meet this problem the Community Council has developed a district plan of information and local action, by which the Council hopes to be able to create communities more or less homogeneous and self-conscious which may know their own problems through these district Councils. The Community Council hopes to be able to organize all groups concerned in the public welfare for united action where the public welfare is concerned. The Community Council hopes eventually to unite all of these districts and all of these groups through some kind of district representation in the Community Council itself, paralleling the present functional representation.

The Community Council hopes that thus a demonstration may be made of the possibility of organizing all of the community

for the common welfare with allowance for the differences between groups, giving scope for the ambitions of groups, minimizing the rivalries and jealousies of groups, capitalizing their common interests for the sake of developing a community in which all groups may effectively operate and all individuals may have greater scope in the development of whatever talents and abilities they have.

Community organization in St. Louis as exemplified in the Community Council is based upon these fundamental principles:

1. Only the community can save itself from the ills of modern community life.
2. All citizens must be informed as to

those problems and their assistance must be enlisted in attacking these problems.

3. All forces concerned in these problems must cooperate in the matters in which they have common interest.

4. All decisions must be arrived at democratically.

Such results can only be attained through specific information from which general conclusions can be drawn; through the wide dissemination of the facts and conclusions thus arrived at, and through general agreement as to action which must be taken.

Such is the significance of team work for a more effective and better organized community life as the St. Louisans see it.

A new feature in the program of the New Jersey State Conference of Social Work was a large luncheon meeting devoted entirely to the problem of social research. The chief speakers were Emil Frankel and Howard W. Odum, and their addresses were discussed by Joseph E. Raycroft, Ambrose F. Dowd, Walter T. Marvin, William J. Ellis, David Fales, and Edgar A. Doll.



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RACE, CULTURAL GROUPS, SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE PENITENTES: A FOLK-OBSERVANCE

MARY WATTERS

WHILE hundreds, even thousands, of Americans cross the ocean to see the dramatic representation of the death of Jesus, given every ten years in Oberammergau, Bavaria, each year they might see in scores of places in the Southwest—in two hundred in New Mexico alone according to one writer—a more realistic, if not more artistic, Passion Play. But this play is not intended for the curious gaze of the public; it is a part of the sincere worship of a simple people, the Penitentes, intended to keep alive among them the memory of the suffering and death of Jesus. While in the beginning there was no secrecy about their commemoration of these historic scenes, curiosity-mongers have driven them into the fastnesses of their mountain canyons out of the path of the persistent tourist. Now it is difficult and sometimes dangerous for an outsider to attempt to see their impressive dramas.

These annual ceremonies of the Penitentes, which culminate in the scenes of Easter week, begin on the first Friday evening of Lent, with a meeting of the body of officers in the morada, or chapel. Each Friday evening thereafter the entire body meets for instruction from the Hermano Mayor, or Chief Brother, who is the head of the organization. All through the season of Lent special prayer

is observed and special penance performed by the members in groups and individually. The wave of emotional expression gathers force as the season advances.

On Tuesday before Easter their final ceremonies begin. On this day new members are received. These candidates have been examined carefully to determine their sincerity of purpose. They are sworn to secrecy. The novitiate must endure having a cross, consisting of three stripes each way, cut into his back as the seal of the order. Wednesday is spent in prayers, confessions, and private penance. On Thursday processions are formed, which go to neighboring moradas or to nearby crosses for worship. During these processions and in the private penance various forms of self-abasement are used; such as, carrying great loads of cactus tied to the bare back; crawling and walking over cactus with bare feet; lying on a bed of cactus at the foot of a cross; being whipped with cactus until it is worn to pieces; carrying, on bare backs, crosses several times the weight of the body; dragging logs fastened to the ankles long distances over rough roads. On Thursday night they go on a journey shrouded in great secrecy, returning to the morada early in the morning.

On Friday morning a procession is formed to accompany the Christ to Cal-

ing been reported in Lisbon, Portugal, in that year. Hence this feature of their penance may well have been taken from the Catholic conquerors. Like many primitive groups the Indians looked upon unflinching endurance of physical torture as a sign of courage and strength. Gruesome practices developed from this attitude; stoicism grew to be a highly prized virtue. Although most of their primitive customs are decadent, they are often revived in their tribal festivals held at Santa Fe, Gallup, and other places in the Southwest.

In one of the Catholic cathedrals in Santa Fe, there is a manuscript, dated 1794, that contains what is supposed to be the oldest official church record of this order in existence in America. It begins: "In each of the two related villages (Santa Cruz and Santa Fe) is founded the Venerable Third Order of the Penitentes. This order has been in existence since the earliest years of the conquest, although the exact year is not known. It is established with the previous permission of the prelates of our Holy Religion as, of right, its immediate superiors. Furthermore to them pertains the right to know and regulate its affairs as necessarily follows from many declaratory and confirmatory bulls of the many Popes of Rome." The next official record appeared about a hundred years later in 1886 when the Bishop of Santa Fe issued an order forbidding Catholic priests to perform the duties of their office in the chapels of the Penitentes. The first of these documents points to the Catholic origin of the order, the second to radical departures from Catholicism. The Bishop's order is not carried out in places where the Penitentes are in a decided majority.

The Penitentes furnish a particularly excellent example of group adaptation to environment—physical and social—an adaptation predetermined, to some degree,

by the racial and social heritages of the peoples, Spanish and Indian, who mingled to form the group. The Spanish represent, no doubt, as pioneers to a new land usually do, the super-imaginative, drama-loving element of romantic Spain of the Renaissance period. The miracle play had long been a part of their worship. What more natural than that they should bring it with them to the new world? What more natural than that their predilections should cause them to select from Indian culture those dramatic features most like their own? The grandeur of the mountains gave them a stage ready-set with properties peculiarly fit for the solemnity of the performance. Isolation has preserved in much its original form this product of the fusion of cultures perfected several centuries ago.

This history of the section shows how the group was a natural outgrowth of the isolation and sparse population of the country. New Mexico was never adequately served by priests. A small scattered population, consisting principally of shepherds and poor farmers, made this difficult. So a self-sufficient communal organization grew up. Their self-sufficiency was perforce increased after the exile of the Franciscans, which followed the change of government in Mexico from a Spanish colony to a republic. Social and legal, as well as religious functions were now taken over by the fraternity. Some such adjustment will be found in any isolated pioneer group. It becomes a law-making and law-enforcing body, administering justice sometimes more effectively than more sophisticated groups do. The Penitentes are still considerably isolated. They feel the force of the religious leader more strongly than that of the civil government. Perhaps it is better that they should be governed so.

The Penitentes are a religious survival

strangely extant in our twentieth-century motor-driven and radio-voiced America. They are among the few who have not succumbed to our modern mechanical madness and mental and spiritual standardization. They have preserved their individuality as a group better than most of us. But it is likely that the pressure of progress will submerge them in the end. Their religion is taking on slowly a character more conformable to present-day American culture. It is thought also that their number is declining, although opinions differ as to the rate of decline. Accurate statistics are difficult to secure. A native writer puts their number at 15,000 in New Mexico, but states that there are many others among the voters and officeholders who have formerly been members and who still wear the scars of the penance on their bodies. Their number is probably smaller in other states—Colorado, Utah, and Arizona.

To the serious scholar—historian, ethnologist, or social psychologist—the Penitentes offer a rich field for research. Very little is known about them, it seems, outside the states in which they live. Little has been written about them. Very little of what has been written shows any attempt at a sympathetic interpretation of their life.

There are, no doubt, some things among the practices of the Penitentes that sober thought would condemn. However, one cannot but admire their deep earnestness and their sincerity of purpose. The simple

spiritual impulses revealed in their worship, however crudely they may be expressed, have a beauty that present-day commercialized religion lacks.

The presence of the Penitentes proves the error of the assumption, common even among presumably educated people, that a group progresses by well-defined stages that embrace all individuals. We have living within these United States people of many stages of culture, measured economically, educationally, socially, or religiously. The scale runs from the unschooled mountaineer, content in his isolation, or the degenerate Indian smeared to dullness with the mere surface of civilization to the cosmopolite rubbing elbows with the world or the university scholar seeking truth by means of the highest mental equipment that he is able to secure from the records of the past.

The adobe hut, model of five thousand or more years ago, dozes in the glare of the twentieth century mansion; the spinning wheel hums within a stone's throw of the spot where the monster cotton mill roars; the crude plow, burro-drawn, creeps beside the intricate harvester or motor-driven tractor. So in the same community we find the rationalist who would reduce religion to a formula brushing shoulders with the primitive religionist to whom it is a personal drama of huge dimensions. Who shall say which belief or which practice is civilization? Henry Ford's or Mahatma Gandhi's? The materialistic scientist's or the Penitentes'?

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THE DECLINING IMMIGRANT PRESS

MARSHALL BEUICK

RECENTLY there have been several denouncers of the foreign language press who have pictured it as an un-American monster that is preparing to overthrow the Government. Actually the foreign languages press in the United States is a typical American product that is generally conservative and loyal to American institutions.

There are certainly not 85 per cent or more of the foreign language newspapers that are radical as some guessing statistician announced a short time ago. At the present time there is less than 6 per cent of the foreign language press that may be called radical. These "red" papers besides represent just about the same percentage of the total circulation of the immigrant press in this country.

Another thing that annoys some of our very American Americans is that there are more than 1100 foreign language newspapers in the United States which reach a population of nearly 10,000,000. These figures have astonished some of my acquaintances, who quite naturally have concluded in a pleasant sociological manner that our immigrants are slow in learning English and therefore slow in learning about the country in which they live. Actually our immigrants learn English quite rapidly and I should guess that (there are so many guesses nowadays about immigrants that you cannot blame me for the same weakness) more than half of the 10,000,000 foreign language readers can read English newspapers somewhat and the "picture" newspapers considerably. The reason for this is rather apparent. There are some things that the foreign-born person is not likely to find in his daily press, and certainly not in his weekly

periodicals which are far more numerous than the daily newspapers. He struggles therefore to pick up enough English to become acquainted with the happenings in the world of the English-speaking Americans in an attempt to be in the "go."

If an immigrant wanted to find out about America and its institutions, the American press would not be a good place for him to resort. What he would find there would presuppose an elementary American education to grasp, and any way many of the American newspapers would tell him almost nothing about American institutions and ideals except perhaps prohibition. Some of the things he would find played up in one type of these newspapers, published in fairly good English and excellent photography, would give him a strange idea of the land of the free and the home of the brave. If he should be an Italian, whose native land has the lowest murder rate of any European country with possibly two exceptions, he would, as you can guess, read about husband and wife murderers, bootleg and hold-up manslaughterers and "big" American business men engaging in questionable oil transactions that prove costly to the federal government.

In his school-room, the foreign language press, the immigrant may find short references to spectacular murders, but he is also certain to find simple biographies of interesting and great Americans, short articles explaining what happened in the United States in a particular month fifty or a hundred years ago, and, on such days as February 12th and 22nd, lengthy articles that tell the kind of men George Washington and Abraham Lincoln were

without the "slush" to which the foreign born do not seem to react with favor.

Through his newspapers he will also learn to his astonishment that there are health clinics in his district where he can bring his children to be examined and to obtain advice about feeding them and about adopting measures to protect their health. His wife finds recipes for American dishes and authoritative articles on the care of babies and children. The list of similar helpful articles that assist the foreign born to adjust themselves to a new life and to learn about the development of America is far too long to be treated in detail. Some dailies have carried a large variety of them to the number of 200 in a year and some of the weeklies more than 300.

What may seem to be a form of self-immolation, is the publication in the foreign language newspapers of columns and sometimes whole pages in English. In one way this defeats the purpose of the press to hold readers among the immigrants, but in another respect it is an attempt to reach the second generation which is often anxious to demonstrate its advancement with the ability to read English.

The attacks on the foreign language press for its radicalism are unfounded. The Foreign Language Information Service, that for about nine years has supplied the immigrant press with free articles about America and its institutions, has made several analyses that prove conclusively that the foreign language newspapers are for the most part conservative, perhaps more so than the American press.

There are many reasons why this new press in America would be conservative. The primary reason is that immigrants are invariably conservative toward life and frequently indifferent toward political economic theories. The newcomer wants a job that shall bring him a larger income

than the meager one he relinquished to come to the land of promise. Soon after he is settled in a job, he wants a home, perhaps more children and finally education for his offspring. If he can squeeze in a phonograph, he will do it; and if by any wild chance he can purchase even a rebuilt motor car, he will do so and "flivver" as the Americans do.

During this period of adjustment and economic advancement, the foreign-born man is quite likely to remain conservative. However, when he comes to learn English, finds himself better off financially and learns from the front pages of American newspapers about the behavior of some Americans, he may become fertile ground for a radical agitator, probably a descendant of an old American family, who will point with scorn to the commercial crimes of Americans and explode with eloquent dynamite about the exploitation of the laboring man.

One of our American authors went through stages similar to these. He arrived in the United States as a conservative religious boy in his teens. He learned English, while he was a factory hand and prepared himself for college. Before he entered his university, he had waltzed through socialism, anarchism and probably syndicalism. Since then he has learned America and has swung far away from the "left." Does America then make radicals out of some of the immigrants? Perhaps immigrants do some things to America that we do not like. But may not America do some things to the immigrants that their countrymen do not like?

The immigrant press serves a practical need in America. If there were no such thing, it would be a long time before many immigrants could learn English well enough to find out about America. As it is, upon landing in the United States a

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man from Spalato, Dalmatia, who may speak either Serbo-Croatian, Italian or German, can pick up a newspaper in his mother tongue and begin to learn at once about his new homeland in the vernacular and simple language that he has been accustomed to hear on Main Street in his home town. Besides he can look to the editor of his newspaper to help him find a relative in America, to tell him where to go for first papers, or to put him in touch with a community where his own kind of people will be or a fraternal or benevolent society. All these things he must obtain some information about or else he is crossing a desert without water, a boro and a slab of "sow belly."

The need for these papers however is diminishing every day. Some of the old immigrant communities are receiving no fresh blood from abroad. The youth in some German district, let us say, may not want to be seen reading a German newspaper. Consequently in such a German-American town in the middle west, the "Abendpost" may become the "Evening Post" overnight and a few of the old folks are obliged to subscribe elsewhere for a German newspaper.

The foreign language press is carrying on a losing fight. The immigration act that has reduced the yearly army of immigrants is already showing its effect and in the next ten or twenty years will certainly reduce a great many newspapers to a state of anemia. This is easy to understand when one considers that there are in the United States less than 200 German newspapers that must fight for the reader's interest and subscriptions of about 51,000 new arrivals which are all that are allowed to enter the United States any year from Germany. If all these readers were divided equally among the German periodicals here, each would receive less than 400. But each one of these publications may

lose twice that number through the death of old readers, leaving a disheartening circulation figure for the foreign language editor.

The approximate 150 Italian newspaper publishers are far worse off than the Germans, as the yearly quota of sons and daughters of Italy who may come to settle in New York or among the vineyards and orchards of California is a trifle less than 4000. The Hungarian publishers are at even a greater disadvantage with exactly a yearly crop of 473 immigrants, who may choose one of about fifty Magyar newspapers.

Despite the decrease in immigration after 1914, there was a period of lively activity in the foreign language press that continued through the war period. Several new publications appeared and partly on account of the rising cost of news print paper, some others died. However the number of periodicals increased as thousands of foreign-born people wanted to read about the affairs of their homeland in the war as told the way the home government often wanted the information published. Before this many foreign language newspapers were taking an increasing interest in American affairs. But news interest demanded that they return to European topics, which in the youth of most immigrant newspapers occupies considerable space.

In 1890 there were slightly more than 1000 immigrant newspapers in the United States. By 1897 there were more than 1200. The number hovered around this figure and declined gradually until 1914 when about 1250 foreign language publications existed. By 1917 there were nearly 1350 from which the number declined shortly after the war almost to the 1892 level of about 1125.

In 1922 the foreign language editors turned their attention again to American

affairs. As might be expected the older immigrant peoples were not as interested in European affairs as the more recently arrived nationalities. A study made of editorials in 1922 shows that Swedish newspaper editors here devoted only about 5 per cent of their editorial space to foreign topics whereas the Ukrainian, Russian and Serbo-Croatian press showed a percentage above 25. The average for sixteen languages was about 16 per cent. In this group of newspapers, of which about 8500 were examined, it was discovered that just about one-half of the editorial column space presented articles of American domestic interest.

Perhaps editors have been sensitive to criticism from attacking Americans and may have published more editorial articles about American affairs than they ordinarily might have. At the same time there would have to be a strong demand from readers for such editorial comment or else little attention would have been accorded it, as any newspaper editor will tell you. Of course, there would be sure to be such a demand. The immigrant takes his adjustment to his new milieu seriously. Social and economic forces show him that he must. He is constantly trying to keep up with his children and with the changes that occur in his industry, but often he is unable to hold his place in the wearying race. The second generation threatens his employment. His daughter no longer wants to wear cotton hosiery and his son wears a white collar every day and may talk about inferiority complexes, tuned radio frequency sets and the "wren" he is "rushing." To all this the father can only utter in bewilderment something about the good and respectable children of his native village in Hungary.

This maladjustment between the old and the new generation is difficult enough for Americans with well-established back-

grounds in America, but among the foreign-born it is almost a tragedy. The press tries in its feeble way to make some adjustment possible, but succeeds no better than the American press wherever it undertakes the job of solving the age-old conflict between the generations.

One way in which we can gather some mist of an idea of what the foreign language press means to our new Americans is to imagine oneself set adrift in Europe, faced with the necessity of earning a living and establishing a home. Consider what a newspaper in your own language would mean to you just for entertainment if nothing else. Even the *Paris Herald* to a mere American tourist is added sweetening to the morning glass of coffee on the boulevards.

A remark that has been credited to the illiterate Italian father who killed a physician in New York after the doctor had administered antitoxin to the Italian's son previous to the child's death helps one to realize what social value may reside in a newspaper. When inoculation was explained in elementary fashion to the father he exclaimed: "If I only could have read about it."

If he could have read Italian, he would have on a few occasions found articles in his newspaper giving a simple exposition of antitoxins and the diseases for which they are used.

The need for the American foreign language newspaper to the immigrant soon comes home to him when he mingles with his countrymen in America whom he sees gleanings so much useful information from its pages. Frequently, if the newcomer cannot read his mother tongue, he will struggle with a periodical until in a short time he can read things that are written exactly in the manner of speech to which he is accustomed. If he is literate, the likelihood is great that he never or seldom

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read a newspaper at home, depending very much of course upon the country from which he came. He would not often read newspapers at home, as in so many European countries before the war, the press was edited for the educated population of the large communities. The man with little education and small income, the type that makes up the emigrating group, could not stimulate much interest in dispatches that gave news of diplomatic relations, a flurry on the New York stock exchange, an essay by some famous native literary light and the recounting of a reception to a great monarch.

In America the immigrant finds something in which he finds himself. He reads many items that are directly associated with the kind of life he is trying to live in a new country. The men who put the newspapers together understand the immigrant and his problems and they talk and write the way the newcomer's friends do. The editors themselves were immigrants and consequently understand the immigrant psychology. Besides a majority of the immigrant editors entered journalism in America because they had a little more education than their fellows and perhaps learned the printing trade in the shop of an old established foreign language newspaper. Men of this sort could not or knew better than to talk over the heads of their readers. For the same reasons intellectuals from abroad usually fail in journalism in America. They lack the "feel" for what the immigrant wants to know.

Because the immigrant press in America is so much a part of the common people, the folks back home, particularly if they plan to emigrate, receive American newspapers in their own language from relatives, enjoy them and learn more about America than they could from the glowing letters that so often reach the old country

where they are read aloud before eager, restless souls.

Although the foreign language newspapers are different from American newspapers in many respects, they are becoming more and more like our native product. For instance there are Italian tabloid newspapers in New York and Boston. The New York daily is perhaps the best tabloid or "picture" newspaper published in the United States in any language including English. Its single feature editorial is printed both in Italian and English and its appearance is quite pleasing to the eye. It has cable dispatches, a woman's and society page, plenty of pictures and cartoons.

Many of the immigrant newspapers have no news, as we think of news, on the front pages. Instead you may find an entertaining article or a short piece of fiction. If the newspaper happens to be the official organ of some fraternal or benevolent society, its principal article may be confined to some event in the organization. On the other hand if the publication is a religious one, quite probably edited by a priest or minister, the entire first page may be devoted to moral discussions and the affairs of the church. In all of these publications, which may be classified as general newspapers or special organs, the editorial articles are certain to be found on the first page unless the journal is a large one that is American in style.

This tendency to publish newspapers in the American manner is accounted for in part by the slumbering desire that many foreign language editors have of eventually converging their newspapers into modern sheets, published in English. The transition from one to the other paper under such circumstances is sure to be simpler. A few editors have tried the short cut of entering the American newspaper field by publishing newspapers in

two languages. A few months ago the owners of the *New York Staats-Zeitung*, which was founded in 1834, purchased two daily commercial newspapers. Through the expenditure of no great sum of money these newspapers could readily be transformed into journals devoted to general news and thereby prepare the publishing house for the future should German newspapers wither in a field where German might no longer flourish as a journalistic language.

There are some language newspapers that have thrived on nationalistic sentiment. The Bohemian or Czech periodicals are examples of this situation and the Polish, Scandinavian and Slovak publications to a similar degree. Changes in Europe and the attitude of the younger generations however weaken this national sentiment. The Czech, for instance, is no longer so intensely patriotic as he was before the formation of the Czechoslovak Republic and the young Danes, Norwegians and Swedes, although they may have warm sentiments for the lands of their fathers and grandfathers, are not fired with a viking patriotism. In consequence those publications that have been largely organs of nationalism are feeling most the decline of the foreign language press.

National advertising too is playing its part. Some of the larger newspapers have no difficulty in obtaining certain kinds of national advertising, as their readers have a buying power that shows itself in the purchase of the same kind of goods that the older Americans are in the habit of consuming. The smaller publications, particularly those not published every day, have more difficulty and have seen advertising withdrawn. One answer that the advertising man has for his attitude is that he reaches a sufficient number of the readers of these smaller newspapers

through periodicals and dailies, published in English. The foreign language publisher replies that the newspaper a man reads in his own tongue carries more prestige with him thereby making advertising in his language newspaper more effective with him. They are both correct from their points of view. Foreign language newspapers certainly carry more weight with their readers than an English newspaper would, to judge only from some of the letters from readers that I have seen and many that I have heard about. The perfectly human explanation is that we are more likely to believe a man of our own nationality than a foreigner.

Of the approximate 1100 foreign language newspapers published in the United States in thirty-six languages, about forty-six may be called "radical" in the popular sense of that word. Tabulated according to politics or economic theory, this "radical" press includes these numbers of newspapers:

Farmer Labor.....	1
Socialist Labor.....	7
Socialist.....	15
I. W. W.....	3
Communist.....	3
Workers' Party.....	17

Altogether there are about 145 foreign language dailies. Of the entire 1100 newspapers 300 odd are independent politically, about 100 are Republican and approximately 20 are Democratic. The remainder, 600 in round numbers, are non-political. The foreign-born either take their politics with extreme seriousness or are as much moved by political campaigns as their American neighbors appear to be from the statistics of elections. Furthermore many of these people have difficulty in comprehending our political system at first and their paramount interest in earning a living leaves them with little

time to concern themselves with what goes on in legislative halls.

If our present immigration laws remain in effect for many years to come, which begins to appear more and more likely, the decline of the immigrant press will be slow at first. But as the older people, who cling to their language, die, the newspapers will begin to die after them. What may be left will be some organization publications, a few literary and artistic periodicals and a stray weekly here and there that will meet the needs of the handful of immigrants that will enter the country from year to year. Some religious publications too are likely to persist for many

years, but these will carry fewer articles in a foreign tongue. Already these church organs are finding their way into the hearts of the sons and daughters of foreign-born people with stories in English.

Even though foreign language newspapers disappear entirely in the United States, it can never be said that they did not serve their purpose of assisting perplexed millions in their adjustment to a country with a complicated social structure. Many of the publishers of these journals have made small fortunes, but many have struggled for years, just serving their people and earning a living that would dishearten many Americans.

A STUDY OF NEGRO CULTURE AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

A joint study of far-reaching importance is the project authorized by the Social Science Research Council for a study of Negro culture and social development on Saint Helena Island off the coast of South Carolina. The study will be in charge of Dr. T. J. Woofter Jr. who has a year's leave of absence from the University of North Carolina. The funds will be administered from the University of North Carolina Institute for Research in Social Science, and the project will have the advice and counsel of various coöperating individuals and groups including the Committee on Interracial Relations of the Social Science Research Council, a similar committee from the National Research Council, and individual workers from George Peabody College, Tuskegee, and others. The investigation will cover the whole range of Negro life and culture in one composite picture and will give a picture of Negro society from data gathered from one region rather than from many isolated and fragmentary sources.

Other studies on the Negro to be published soon by the University of North Carolina Press include *PHOTOPHONOGRAPHIC STUDIES OF THE NEGRO VOICE* by Milton Metfessel with an introduction by Carl Seashore; *JOHN HENRY: A STUDY IN DIFFUSION* by Guy B. Johnson; *THE QUALITY OF NEGRO VOICES* by Guy B. Johnson; *THE NEGRO SINGS A NEW HEAVEN* by Howard W. Odum and Mary Grissam.

GOVERNMENT, POLITICS, CITIZENSHIP

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

IMMIGRATION AN INTERNATIONAL PROBLEM

DONALD R. TAFT

BIRDS migrate. We do not ordinarily speak of the immigration of birds. Young people migrate from country to city and Negroes from south to north. But aliens immigrate. Their coming has disturbed us greatly and we call that disturbance the American problem of immigration. The word emigration, to most of us, denotes the return home of the alien after he has come to the United States, rather than his original departure from his homeland. The departure of Tony from Italy affects us all, but it affects us indirectly and remotely and therefore interests but few. Still fewer are interested in both the coming and the going of the Tonys, the Heinrichs and the rest. Still fewer, it seems, discuss the problem of human migration. Birds migrate, but humans immigrate.

And yet important personal and world problems are associated with both processes—the coming and the going. When a family is divided between two countries its problems are centered on both sides of the Atlantic at the same time. The problem of wife desertion in Czecho-Slovakia becomes the problem of maladjustment, irresponsibility and perhaps bigamy in America. Similarly if the intelligence level of America falls as a result of immigration, the intelligence level of Europe

presumably rises. And if, through better selection immigration should bring us a higher average I.Q., emigration from Europe would almost certainly leave behind a larger proportion of morons. These questions are problems of migration. And the really important personal problem in the above illustration, is the net effect upon family stability and happiness both here and abroad. Similarly in its larger aspects the really important eugenic and social question involved is that of the net effect of migration upon the quality of world population, and upon its effective distribution. The problem of immigration seen as a whole is the problem of world migration. It is essentially international.

But to urge that immigration is an international problem, is not to suggest that its domestic aspects be neglected. These are some of its most important elements, but they are only elements. America's need for an adequate labor supply; the competition of low-standard foreign labor with high standard American labor; the fear of too great diversity of stocks and the correlative need for assimilation; the alleged danger of degeneration through the infusion of inferior races or individuals; these are some of the more important domestic aspects of immigration, and they are all

aspects of the international migration problem. They cannot be neglected.

Nor does an interest in immigration as a world problem imply a merely sentimental interest in the immigrant. A few months ago the writer was walking along the streets of Warsaw in a cold, drizzling December rain, when his way was suddenly blocked by the pitiful figure of a young woman with a shawl over her head, barefoot and with a baby in her arms, begging aid in the storm. To urge that that woman and thousands of other Warsaw beggars like her be brought to America is to be sentimental. The desire is no evidence of the international viewpoint. For it neglects on the one hand the need that Poland if possible remove the causes of her dependency; and it neglects on the other hand the possible effect upon America of the introduction of Europe's poverty-stricken hordes.

In other words the international viewpoint is not something separate and distinct from the American or any other point of view. It rather attempts to include all views by facing all the real facts in the situation. It tries to visualize *all* the *ultimate* human values involved. Such an attempt is indeed not easy. It is difficult enough to see clearly immediate effects of immigration from one point of view. It is well-nigh impossible to visualize long-time effects. Indeed ultimate effects may conceivably be the opposite of immediate effects. For example the coming of the immigrant sometimes seems immediately to have threatened the wage of native-born workers. But its ultimate effect upon their material welfare will depend more upon the immigrants' influence upon the productivity of American industry. This latter is far more difficult to discern. But if one is asked at one and the same time to predict the effect of migration upon America, the country of

emigration, the immigrant's own family wherever they are, the growth and quality of world population etc., his task becomes gigantic. No one knows the complete answer. The thesis of this article is that a closer approximation to that answer may be expected if the question be studied co-operatively by men of every viewpoint, who recognize its international nature and importance.

But critics will immediately object that such an ideal is impractical and impossible. Perhaps. But our present interest is in showing the truth of our contention that immigration is a world problem and that its international nature has been neglected especially in America.

That Americans with few exceptions treat immigration as a purely domestic problem is easy to demonstrate. We have already pointed out how the very use of the word "immigration" implies a one-sided attitude. Our regulation of immigration is by national laws. Hearings before congressional committees and discussions in Congress naturally evidence concern almost entirely for American conditions, and too often show both a narrow and short-sighted view of those conditions. The immigration act of 1924 is sometimes referred to as a "scientific" law because great weight was given to certain statistical data furnished by Dr. H. H. Laughlin, a biologist of note. The value of some of the data presented as factors in determining immigration policy is not to be denied. But a policy is not made "scientific" because it is based upon biological principles accepted by one group of biologists, denied by others, and incidentally presented with utter disregard of some of the most elementary of statistical cautions. Such a policy can hardly be called scientific, and no pretense was made that it was international.

Again, America has repudiated the use

of treaties or other international machinery for the control of immigration. Our commercial treaties are of slight importance with reference to most immigrants; exclusion acts have replaced immigration treaties with China; and recently we vehemently insisted upon our sole right to regulate immigration by federal laws when we destroyed the Gentlemen's Agreement with Japan in the Act of 1924. Moreover one of the chief reasons for opposition to the League of Nations was the expressed fear that the League might lead to the discussion of immigration by international bodies and mayhap even to international control.

Finally it must be confessed that our most popular textbooks have shown but little more recognition of the international nature of the problem. For example the new edition of Professor Fairchild's standard work after twenty chapters devoted to the American immigration question, has space left for a single chapter on "The International Problem." This final chapter is, moreover, devoted largely to minimizing the importance of other than the American viewpoint. We have, it is true, a number of studies published in this country, and devoted to a single foreign group, which give much European data. An example of these is Dr. Foerster's excellent study of Italian Emigration. We have also more or less sentimental books telling the story of immigrant hardships. But no one, so far as the present writer is informed, has treated immigration to America as a phase of the great world population question. The nearest approach to such a treatment is found in general works on population which consider immigration only incidentally.

It may be suggested that the provision in our recent law for inspection of emigrants abroad is an evidence of concern for the immigrant. No doubt this and laws regulating steerage conditions do

show such concern but they do not show the world viewpoint. Moreover an American consul in Europe recently greeted the writer with the words: "Of course you know that the real purpose of the consular inspection service is not to prevent hardships to immigrants, but to enable us to select better stock here than could be selected at Ellis Island." The truth probably is that motives were mixed here as they usually are.

If it is not difficult to show that we have failed to recognize the international aspects of immigration, it is still less difficult to demonstrate the reality of those international aspects. Indeed the very fears expressed lest national control of immigration may be limited, bespeak an uneasy suspicion that other nations have real interests in the question. Moreover the international discussion and control of migration has already begun. The most important general conference to discuss migration from the world viewpoint was the International Migration Conference held in Rome in 1924. Although it was clear at that gathering that countries of emigration and countries of immigration had—or thought they had conflicting interests in migration, and although the conference could not even agree upon the definition of an immigrant, nevertheless an important beginning was made, which prepared the way for the work of the Migration Section of the International Labour Office.

The establishment and work of that Section is further evidence of the international nature of the subject. It is doing important research work, gathering statistics of migration, publishing laws and treaties and a monthly periodical—"The Monthly Record of Migration," which has grown out of the earlier "Migration Notes" in the Bureau's "Industrial and Labour Information."

In addition at least three Sections of

the League of Nations Secretariat are active in the field of migration. The Health Organization is interested in the spread of disease through migration and in the medical inspection of migrants; the Transit and Communication Section is interested in standardizing passport and cartes d'identité requirements etc.; and the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Women and Children in the Social Section deals with an important moral problem of migration.

The International Labour Conferences have passed conventions and draft resolutions dealing with the equality of treatment of aliens and nationals and with the protection of women and children on board ship. These are too recent however to have been acted upon by many countries, members of the Conference. International conferences of organized labor have given much attention to migration, and recently an international employers' organization has been created for the organization of the labor market on an international basis; while for several years an important international social service organization—the International Migration Service,—mentioned again below, has been active in dealing with the problems of migrants which concern more than one country.

As beginnings of genuine international control the multi-lateral agreements of the International Labour Conference are of importance. But of infinitely greater practical significance are the many bi-lateral treaties which actually control migration to-day. An interesting example of these latter are the Franco-Polish treaties, including conventions and protocols of 1919, 1920, 1924 and 1925. The details of these agreements are too numerous to mention but they include many provisions which we Americans would consider matters of "purely domes-

tic concern." Thus for example they guarantee wages for Poles equal to those of French nationals; and equal protection of internal labor legislation. They stipulate the conditions under which immigrants will be admitted; the way in which recruiting shall be carried on in Poland; the examination, selection, and transportation of immigrants; property rights of Poles in France; care in time of illness; relations with trade unions; education; etc. etc. In another place semi-official sanction is even given to the teaching of Polish language and history in French private schools.

In addition to these agreements the contracts themselves are more detailed international documents, approved by both French and Polish officials. These fix the wages, hours, food, housing, holidays, and other conditions of work. Thus whereas a man may not legally enter the United States if he knows he will obtain employment; he can scarcely enter France at all *unless* he is provided with an officially-vised labor contract.

Finally there is a very limited amount of control of the Poles in France through international administrative authorities.

Such activities must have some basis in reality. What are some of the problems of an international nature which national control leaves unsolved? In the first place American immigration legislation has left the fundamental causes of migration untouched. The motives which urged Italian, Pole, Czech and Jew to seek our shores are as operative to-day as when any normal literate man could take the next boat for America. Grinding poverty, unemployment, and despair are still there, now that one avenue of escape from them has been almost blocked. To say this is not to urge that the doors be opened to the distressed of Europe; but it is to call attention to the plain fact that our sudden

change in policy has aggravated economic conditions abroad of which we must take cognizance.

The fundamental condition in parts of Europe which our laws have not changed is terrific overpopulation. Taking Poland as an example we have no accurate figures for the size of families, but everyone knows that the Polish family is large although the average size is cut down statistically by the fact that probably two out of every ten babies born are dead before they are a year old—a condition itself an indication of overpopulation. Dead babies do not become jobless men and women. Peter Rowinska raises a sizeable brood with total disregard of the fact that his tiny piece of land is scarcely sufficient to raise the food he and his wife alone need. The average peasant has a farm of perhaps nine acres—thousands are smaller of course—with one horse, two cows, a couple of hogs, a few chickens and geese, and (statistically) two-fifths of a goat. He lives in a one or two-room rough cottage—often thatched. Nearly three-fifths of all the families in Poland live in one room. In Kielce province—a great emigration center—there are 137,000 houses of one room each inhabited by from five to seven persons each; over 35,000 more with eight to ten in a room; and nearly three thousand with eleven or more. According to a middle class farmer seen near Poznan it takes forty-five acres to raise such a family "decently" or five times the area of the average farm in Poland. This farmer had, of course, a higher standard of living but he had had fourteen children, twelve of whom were living. He felt that perhaps two of his boys could live on the farm—the rest must go elsewhere. But where? Poland does not have a sufficient industrial demand to take up this surplus labor supply which formerly emigrated to the United States or to

Germany. A Polish business man told the writer that Poland has too little unemployment! He meant, of course, that her industries are already overstaffed, with workmen not fully occupied, an army of hangers-on waiting to do unnecessary services in hope of a reward, and a second army of beggars. For some time thousands of Poles went to France who would have come to America had the door been open. Now since January France has closed her doors. I do not urge that we open our doors to the Poles. I simply urge that we have here a world problem which a mere exclusion law does not solve.

But our laws have not only left old problems unsolved they have created new ones. Our act of 1924 not only keeps people out—it discriminates in a novel way between those who may come in, favoring northern and western Europe as against southern and eastern Europe. John Smith, Michael O'Brien, Heinrich Schmidt and Alec Ericksen are rated above Tony Demarco, Radu Marowski and Mary Silvia. As other writers have shown this law does not consistently favor the Nordics (whoever they may be) nor is it based upon an honest application of Laughlin's studies of social inadequacy mentioned above. For the moment, however, we are only interested in the effect of such a law upon the nationalities discriminated against. Whether the real reason be racial or cultural, and however we may deny the inference, these nationalities consider the law as evidence that they are held to be inferiors. To the ultra-nationalistic countries of central or eastern Europe this is intolerable—an affront to national pride. In Poland too the papers were recently full of agitation against the use of intelligence tests in the selection of immigrants in Warsaw. This is most unfortunate for it has gone

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far to discredit the inspection abroad which in almost every other way is universally approved. Objection is also made that inspectors sometimes try to select superior individuals within the classes specified in the law. This is a disputed point and the consuls themselves seemed divided upon it.

In addition to these general results, our immigration law has had serious effects upon individual families. One of the chief of these difficulties is the separation of families. Take for example the case of Mr. Nahikian, an Armenian who came to the United States to make a home for his wife. Except where whole families migrate to avoid persecution this is the normal procedure. The man comes first and sends for his family later. But where the quota of a country is small a man cannot bring in his wife until he has become an American citizen—a period of five years at the least. Thus the law is supposed to stimulate naturalization. Keep wives away from husbands, it seems to say,—they will become loyal American citizens in order to get their wives back. This provision enforces the abnormal separation of families in many cases. But Mr. Nahikian met the conditions. He became a citizen and saved a bit of money, and sent for his wife. But she, coming by way of Marseilles, was examined there and found to have an old tubercular lesion which prevented her coming. Mr. Nahikian was distracted. He could not understand and went about spending his hard-earned savings trying to get someone to bring her in. Finally a member of the staff of the International Migration Service found him; explained tactfully the impossibility of bring his wife to America; and aided him in making plans to join her in France. Having an office in Marseilles and in Paris this organization was able to advise him to go, not to southern

France where work was scarce, but to northern France. At last accounts Mr. Nahikian was working hard and studying French nights to get ready for the new experience. Incidentally we may note that our law compels us to lose this loyal man, and permits us to retain too often the wife deserter. Such deserters also are international problems.

American consuls in Europe seem divided in their attitude toward this problem of separated families, some urging a change in the law to prevent it; others urging that even the preference now given to wives and children of citizens be taken away. Of the latter type was a man whom I visited in southern France. I had been advised to see him by a man in the State Department because he was said to have made a special study of certain aspects of migration. I found from his reports that he was an ardent restrictionist. I was told also that he was not happy in his position. He did not like that part of France as a place to bring up a family. He feared especially the moral effect upon his daughter. So at some expense he regularly sent her to America for education. I was eager to see this high-minded Puritan but was somewhat surprised at his reply to my question about separated immigrant families. "Oh" said he, "it doesn't matter. They don't love their wives anyway. They voluntarily leave their families for years. They don't really want them back and don't care for them. And if they do—let them use the prostitutes in America!" I tell this disgusting story to show how one type of man can see but one side of the immigration question. He is not, according to my observations, typical. Many consuls take a very broad-minded attitude, and though primarily charged with the protection of America, they are eager to be as humane as possible.

Another important type of international problem is that of the deportees who are by no means all criminals. They include the sick, feeble-minded, insane, and children without anyone to care for them. Unfortunately the United States Government cannot always consider the conditions to which they are going abroad. It is fortunate, therefore, that an organization like the International Migration Service, which is interested in people wherever they are, exists. This organization, with headquarters in Geneva, has been largely financed from America, but is increasingly securing support abroad. Its main offices are in New York, Paris, Marseilles, Warsaw, Prague and Athens; but it has connections the world over. About half of its cases are those involving children.

Best known thus far for the high quality of its international case work, this organization has also begun important research work in the field of migration. Americans can hardly realize how delicate are some of these problems. Only individuals with a reputation for absolute impartiality can uncover the necessary facts, for it is necessary to deal with men and women of opposite viewpoints every day. The labor leader, the nationalist, the employer, who will hardly talk to one another will give data to the unprejudiced investigator. Such data are much needed. In this way an organization can exert a wholesome influence upon national and international migration policy, and indirectly can do much to smoothe out differences and promote international good feeling.

For migration is by no means the least among the possible causes of "the next war." One must not exaggerate here. The next war, if it comes, will no more than the last have a single cause. A cumulation of strains will bring it on.

But migration and migration policies are certainly among the most important strains. The recent economic conference at Geneva is said to have avoided direct study of migration, not because it was not important, but because "the time was not opportune." Arnold Toynbee in his "Survey of International Affairs" for 1924, says that our immigration act was the greatest threat to world peace of that year. If the quota is applied to Mexicans an added strain will result. Japan still smarts under the insult she received in 1924; Italy and Poland have objected. It may not be literally true as Toynbee seems to imply that a population movement dammed up in one direction will simply break out in another; but that is certainly the tendency.

The immigration problem then is international. It is international both because of the common and the opposing interests of nations. It is a world problem because it is an expression of the great world force of population pressure; because involved in it are race and national prejudices and injuries to national pride which are not confined to Japan though perhaps most serious there. It is international also because the destinies of individual migrants, oftentimes separated between two or more countries, are bound up in it. The time has perhaps not come for the adoption of complete international control. But the time has come for frank international discussion, impartial study of the facts and perhaps for the development of some of the experiments in international control which have already been begun abroad. The very least we can do would seem to be to support adequately such organizations as the International Migration Service, which has already attained enviable success in this delicate field.

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JUSTICE AND WAGES

GLENN E. HOOVER

WHEN the British Labor Headquarters had decreed the greatest general strike in history, there floated out through the night, to the wonderment of passers-by, strains of that emotional old hymn, "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah." Whether the reported incident be true or not, it illustrates clearly the fact that labor does not consider its major contests mere bread-and-butter battles. It does not act from a cold-blooded belief that an opportune time has arrived to put the screws to a disorganized consuming public or gouge its hereditary enemy, the capitalist. They conceive their struggle to be primarily ethical. It is because they stand at Armageddon that they sing. They do not talk of money but of justice.

Although labor views its contests as being primarily ethical, the concrete issue is generally one of wages. It struggles for a "fair wage," a wage to which it has a right, a "just wage." Few people have any definite idea of what is meant by a just or unjust wage but the belief that wages are often unjust is probably as old as human society. The belief that, even in the absence of fraud or coercion, there might be injustice in exchange, was given a tremendous impetus by the Catholic Church during the time it was developing its doctrine of "just price" and its opposition to usury. For upwards of a thousand years in Europe there was practically no writing or thinking done on these subjects except by the Catholic school, and, in form at least, the conclusions of the greatest of these, Thomas Aquinas, continue as the doctrine of the Church.

The medieval economists believed that goods and services should be exchanged only for money, goods or services of equal

value, that five dollars worth of labor was entitled to five dollars in wages. They did not believe that the value of a thing was determined by the subjective evaluation of the parties, and, in particular they denied that the sale of a commodity or a service for a given sum proved the equivalence of value which they deemed essential.

They contended that if the interested parties were to be permitted to determine the equivalence in value, gross unfairness might result, for a starving man might freely give his fortune for a loaf of bread. A leading Catholic scholar, Dr. John A. Ryan, describes the value which may properly be attributed to a commodity, as the "average or medium amount of utility attributed to goods in the average conditions of life and exchange." This utility found its definite measurement in the *communis estimatio* or social estimate, determined in practice by the guilds, municipal ordinance, or royal decree.

The influence of the Catholic doctrines of just price and just wage was considerably weakened by the decay of the guilds in the fifteenth century thus permitting greater fluctuation in prices. The authority of the Church also suffered, in the industrialized and commercial sections of northern Europe, as a result of the Protestant Reformation.

It remained however for Adam Smith and the classical economists of the nineteenth century to formulate a logical attack on the doctrine of justice in exchange that should have discredited it as effectively as their teachings discredited the Mercantilist doctrines. It was not that the Classicists denied the possibility of injustice in prices and wages, but that their assumptions, implied as often as expressed, were that prices and wages freely agreed to,

under openly competitive conditions, were just and fair in the only sense in which these words could have real meaning. For them the justice of an exchange made under conditions of perfect freedom was established by the fact that no better bargain could be made and that the fact of its existence proved it was satisfactory to both parties.

Justice is a term that is applicable to the conduct of gods and men and not to a mere ratio of exchange. There can be no unjust wage unless it is arrived at by the unjust actions of one of the parties. This is a truth often overlooked by those who think the justice of a wage can be determined from its size. It would be folly to condemn as unjust the wages paid in China merely because the workers there are unable to live in accordance with what we consider reasonable standards of health and decency. The economic conditions and the density of population in China make impossible an approach to the American standard of living.

The idea that the justice of a wage may be determined by its amount must be rejected. To employ "unjust" as synonymous with "low" or "inadequate" not only does violence to language, but, worse yet, confuses the mind and embitters the feelings of the unwary. If the phrase is to survive at all among scholars, it should apply, not to the size of the wage but to the way in which that size is determined, to the *process* and not to the *result*. Such is the sound conclusion that may be drawn from the writings of the classical economists.

In the determination of wages, the "just" process, the process which will result in "just" wages, is the competitive process. Laborers may demand in the name of justice, not a particular wage, but that they be permitted to move about and sell their labor on the most favorable

terms, free from the interference of either government or monopolistic organizations, whether of laborers or employers. The resultant wage will be a "just wage." To use the phrase in a different way seems a very mischievous sort of nonsense.

JUSTICE DETERMINED BY STANDARD OF LIVING

The contention that a comparison with the cost-of-living will determine the justice of wages is the basis of all minimum wage legislation and enters into almost every wage controversy. The claim deserves minute and careful analysis. To illustrate its weakness, let us assume an agricultural society in which wages fall below the approved standard because of a series of crop failures. Should we say that the less-than-living wage is "unjust" because the "unjust" rains refused to fall and the "unjust" pests ate up the crops?

If the wage paid by employers under competitive conditions is less than the standard proposed, what is the possibility of increasing the wage? It is pretty generally agreed among economists that a competitive wage is automatically fixed at or very near the value of the product of the marginal or least necessary laborer. If so, the wage cannot be increased unless employers are willing and able to pay their marginal workers more than they are worth, that is, more than the increased value of the product attributable to such marginal worker. If a workman adds only \$3.00 to the output of a plant, he could be paid \$5.00 only so long as his employer was able to stand a loss of \$2.00 per day on the laborers of this class.

It is of course true, as Professor John A. Ryan and other proponents of the minimum wage point out, that if the law imposed this extra charge upon all of the employers equally, they could protect themselves through a rise in price just as

if their increased cost were due to a tax but the rise in price would be made possible only through a decrease in the supply of their products. With no change in demand, the price could not be raised except by decreasing the output. The net result then would be an elevation of the minimum wage and a decrease in the number employed. Evidently the scheme is not possible of universal application unless society is willing to provide for those whom the scheme would throw out of work.

A universal minimum wage, calculated to meet a standard of consumption worth fighting for, would require an increase in real wages beyond our present total production and is therefore impossible of attainment. This is the conclusion of a leading advocate of the minimum wage, Professor Paul H. Douglas of the University of Chicago, one of those rare individuals who combines his reforming zeal with some knowledge of economics and statistics. He has shown that a universal minimum wage based on the needs of a family of five, is impossible because the social product is too small to admit of any such utopian distribution. He contends that reformers must abandon the minimum wage program as heretofore presented. He favors, not a minimum wage, but several minima, varying with the number and character of the worker's dependents. The legal minimum would not be based on the value of the worker's services, but upon his needs and the needs of his dependents.

Professor Douglas favors such a program as an effective method of increasing the wage of those burdened with dependents; but he is clear headed enough to see that such increases could be made only by decreasing the wages now paid to laborers of the same grade who have few or no dependents. The pious hope that such increases could come from the "capitalist

class," "Wall Street" or even "the industry" or "the consumer," vanishes into thin air. The minimum wage proposal, after being subjected to the cold dose of economic statistics prepared by Professor Douglas, is no longer the unmixed blessing it appeared. It has been transformed into a scheme to increase the wages of some and decrease the wages of others.

This claim that the need of an individual implies a duty on the part of the state to supply that need has theretofore found favor only in communist circles. "From every man according to his ability and to every man according to his need" has long been their slogan, and minimum wage proponents with logical minds are apparently driven to its acceptance. Historical accuracy and common fairness require that even communists be given their due. It is to be hoped that one can suggest this relationship without being charged with a silly, reactionary attempt to damm the minimum wage proposals by painting them red.

The dilemma then may be stated in this way: to fix a legal minimum without regard to dependents is impossible and to vary it with the number of dependents at the expense of those not so burdened, is utterly indefensible and socially undesirable. Malthus pointed out a century ago that no scheme of social amelioration had a chance of success if the human race was to increase at its biologically maximum rate. Checks to human fecundity are absolutely essential and to relieve men from the care of their dependents and the economic disadvantage resulting from excessive progeny is certainly to remove one of the most effective barriers to such a plethora of humanity as would reduce the standard of living to a subsistence level, though minimum wage laws were as plentiful as blackberries.

Theoretically it might be possible to

supplement Professor Douglas' proposals with some plan for checking the increase in fecundity to which his scheme would otherwise lead. But this would involve a propagation of the utility and methods of birth-control among prolific workers or the establishment of clinics for voluntary or compulsory sterilization. In view of the present state of public opinion with respect to such measures, it is probably a sheer waste of time to consider them as practical proposals.

Since the conventional minimum wage laws have been devastated by the logic of Professor Douglas and have moreover, received the *coup de grâce* from the Supreme Court of the United States, they may be dismissed from further consideration. There still remains, however, the task of explaining the transformation in public and private opinion with respect to the wage fixing activities of labor unions. The history of that transformation shows how weak are our intellectual convictions when they run counter to our emotions.

It was early and universally believed in the time when the common law was in the making, that if those who had anything to sell could conspire together and agree on a minimum price which would be observed by all, society would be injured in that purchasers would be deprived of their right to secure such goods and services at competitive prices. All agreements in restraint of trade were therefore void at common law, and this illegality attached to agreements relative to the price of labor as well as to commodities.

The general common law condemnation of wage-fixing agreements was supplemented in 1548 by an act of parliament which forbade all conspiracies and covenants "not to make or do their work, but at a certain price or rate" under the penalty, on a third conviction, of the pillory

and loss of an ear and to "be taken as a man infamous."

As western Europe and the United States became increasingly industrialized and democratized, the influence of the proletariat grew. The workers urged that they be exempted from the common law rule condemning conspiracy and at the same time urged that the law be strengthened as against the sellers of commodities. The result was that as the proletariat grew in organization and in political power, governments have been increasingly hostile toward monopolies among capitalists and have first tolerated and then encouraged monopolies among laborers.

It has not always been easy to draft legislation forbidding a practice on the part of some vendors while encouraging the identical practice on the part of others. For example, the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, to the dismay of some of its proponents, was logically interpreted in the courts as applying to conspiracies among laborers as well as vendors of commodities. In order that the sauce prepared for the goose might not be applied equally to the gander, another congressional declaration was necessary. It came as the solemn and platitudinous pronouncement of the Clayton Act which alters the economic verities by pompously declaring that labor is not a commodity notwithstanding it is sold for money like a commodity, bought like a commodity, like a commodity its price is raised by conspiracies among the sellers of it, and that, in short, it is a commodity in every respect that is relevant to the purpose of laws prohibiting monopolies and conspiracies.

It has at all times been admitted that labor, by organizing, might raise wages above the competitive level. Each labor union considers itself engaged in a struggle to attain such increase, but, *mirabile*

dictu, economists cannot agree as to the identity of the other party to the struggle. Professor W. Stanley Jevons probably expressed the mature views of the classical economists when he wrote, in 1882: "The supposed conflict of labour with capital is a delusion. The real conflict is between producers and consumers." But fashions change, even in economic theory, and now there is scarcely a text which does not discuss trade unions as a proper if not a necessary device by which workers may secure wages to which they are entitled, and that the increase is not at the expense of consumers as contended by Jevons, but at the expense of the employers.

Some may find solace in the fact that economic science is at last in accord with popular wisdom on at least one point. But, unhappily, in this case it is science that bends the knee. It should be as plain as a pike-staff that the rate of profits in unionized industries is as high as in the non-union industries and that therefore, such wage increases as have been secured by unions have been at the expense of consumers and not at the expense of employers. Jevons was right and the moderns are wrong.

TRADE UNION ETHICS

If we assume as correct the unionist notion that wages are increased at the expense of employers, even then their program is dubious from the standpoint of ethics. Unionists apparently amend the adage "a private monopoly is intolerable" by adding that such monopoly, to be condemned, must be directed against the general consumer; but if it is directed against a much smaller group, the employers, the monopoly principle ceases to be vicious and becomes even commendable. Those however who believe that in so far as a monopoly price differs from the competitive price it is extortionate and

unfair, cannot transform disapproval into approval merely because the victims are not numerous and belong to a class to which few may aspire. This savors too much of the Robin Hood ethics in stealing from the rich to give to the poor.

From the ethical standpoint it seems equally questionable to defend monopoly among laborers because of a real or fancied necessity for equalizing the "bargaining power" of the two parties to a wage agreement. The phrase has no application at all to the processes of a competitive market. No workman has to be equipped with "bargaining power" to get the competitive price for his wheat, his wood or his labor. Nor does a rich man buy these things at a less price because his "bargaining power" is greater than the poorer purchasers.

If the phrase means that labor, to be productive, is more dependent upon capital than capital is upon labor, it is equally untrue. Capital without labor is absolutely unproductive and yields its owner no return. No owner of a factory wishes to close it down and if he does so, while he may be able to eat after the limited savings of his workers are gone, it will not be because he has derived any benefit from his idle factory.

There are, too, those who justify monopoly among laborers because they feel that employers are formally or informally conspiring to keep wages down. They argue that fire must be fought with fire. This reasoning is particularly dangerous as it leads to general confusion with respect to elementary principles of conduct. When the masses are taught the righteousness of a monopoly wage and the criminal unrighteousness of a monopoly price for commodities, it is not surprising that they are bewildered. The result is that the essentially anti-social character of monopoly and conspiracy is less clear to us than

it was to our ancestors a thousand years ago.

RESULTS THAT WOULD ENSUE FROM THE ACCEPTANCE OF COMPETITION

A chief result of adopting the competitive process as the method of fixing wages would be that we should then have the only possible guarantee that wages themselves would be just. It cannot be too frequently reiterated that "just" wages can only mean wages that are determined by a just *method* rather than wages of a given *amount*. All attempts to regulate wages by a monopoly of either the buyers or sellers of it, by wage-fixing boards or arbitration committees, finds us at sea without rudder or compass. In the absence of a principle by which a just wage can be determined, it is a puerile shifting of responsibility to create artificial agencies for a task nobody knows how to perform.

Another benefit resulting from the adoption of competition would be that the "labor problem" would largely cease to exist so far as the public is concerned. Labor becomes a social problem only when it conspires to shut down an industry or service and either carries its threats into execution or utilizes them to raise wages above the competitive rate to the ultimate detriment of the consumer.

The truth of the foregoing is well illustrated if we compare the organized railway men with the unorganized domestic servants. The increase in wage rates of domestic servants has been phenomenal in recent years yet there has been no cessation of employment, no criticism of the way in which such wages were determined, and there has been a general acceptance of their naturalness, "justice" and even inevitability. These wage increases have been secured gradually, quietly and yet very effectively without any organiza-

tion or other artificial device for "equalizing the bargaining power" of mistress and maid.

In the case of the organized railwaymen, however, there has been partial interruption of service and a persistent feeling that rail rates have been unduly high, due to artificially high wages which were secured under threat of tying up the service. This was a very real threat and cowed even the national congress at the time it passed the Adamson Act. The wages of railway men may, in fact, be little if any above the competitive rate, but the competitive or "just" rate will never be known to the satisfaction of all, until they are fixed competitively. At present they are fixed in part on the basis of the service the men perform and in part on the basis of the damage they might cause by a concerted cessation of service. By the present system they add to the value of their services, the damage they could cause by striking, and the total wage bill is not pleasing to those who ultimately pay.

Of all those usefully employed in the United States, much less than one-tenth are organized. The membership of unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor has decreased every year since 1920. The attempt to solve the problems of labor through trade unions is not only wrong in principle but is futile. True friends of labor and of justice should resist all temptation to temporize with monopoly, even when it seems it might serve some selfish purpose. They should hold fast to the anti-monopoly or competitive principle, the principle of liberty which motivated the revolutionists in France, when, in 1791, they abolished by national decree all the guilds, corporations or other monopolies of masters and workmen, created and recognized by the kings of France for hundreds of years.

There is of course a great deal of conventional morality and sumptuary legisla-

tion which vary from place to place and from time to time. Various taboos come and go but the general condemnation of theft stands like a rock. So it should be with monopoly. Our economic life is now dependent upon exchange, and we should insist that exchanges take place freely, unaffected by monopolies or conspiracies of any kind.

The statesman-like way to combat a monopoly, if it is not a natural one subject to regulation, is not to create a rival monopoly, but to destroy the original one by every force which organized society can bring against it. This program is not an easy one; but in following it, we shall at least keep our intellects clear and our ethical senses alive.

CHRISTMAS MEETINGS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCE GROUPS

Meeting in Washington, D. C. from December 27-30 are the American Sociological Society, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Farm Economic Association, and the National Community Center Association. Programs of these organizations may be secured by writing their secretaries:

ERNEST W. BURGESS, *American Sociological Society*, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

FREDERICK S. DEIBLER, *American Economic Association*, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois.

JOHN S. BASSETT, *American Historical Association*, 58 Pomeroy Terrace, Northampton, Massachusetts.

J. R. HAYDEN, *American Political Science Association*, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

WILLFORD I. KING, *American Statistical Association*, Commerce Building, 236 Wooster Street, New York City.

JOHN B. ANDREWS, *American Association for Labor Legislation*, 131 East Twenty-third Street, New York City.

LEROY E. BOWMAN, *National Community Center Association*, Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University, New York City.

SOCIAL INDUSTRIAL RELATIONSHIPS

Contributions to this Department will include material of three kinds: (1) original discussion, suggestion, plans, programs, and theories; (2) reports of special projects, working programs, conferences and meetings, and progress in any distinctive aspect of the field; (3) special results of study and research.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES AND CHOICES OF A GROUP OF COLLEGE MEN. PART I

W. A. ANDERSON

THE METHOD OF STUDY

THE method employed to obtain the information for this analysis was an adaptation of that used by Professor George S. Counts in a somewhat similar study reported in *The School Review* of January, 1925. As the basis of this analysis, twenty-four occupations were selected. The students were instructed to rank these occupations in order from one to twenty-four upon the basis of their own opinion as to how they should rate socially. It was explained that their rating should be based upon their idea of the contribution the occupation made to social well-being. The results therefore show the attitudes this group of students hold with regard to the various vocations, based upon their estimate of the contribution made to society. No time limit was set in which the ranking had to be done. All the time necessary was allowed. The occupations selected and the instructions for ranking them were as follows:

OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES OF NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS

In the following list are twenty-four occupations which you are to arrange in the order of their social standing according to your own judgment. After that occupation which you consider to have the highest social rating, on the basis of contribution to so-

ciety, place the number "1"; after that which you think should occupy second place in this respect, the number "2"; and so on until finally you place "24" after that occupation which you think deserves the lowest social rating. You will avoid mistakes if, on a separate sheet of paper, you first arrange the twenty-four occupations into six groups of four occupations each, putting the four highest in the first group, the next four in the second group, etc. Then you can put the four in each group in their proper order and finally transfer your ranking to the column below.

	Rank
Banker (part owner and director in bank)	—
Barber (works in barber shop)	—
Baseball Player (professional)	—
Blacksmith (runs his own shop)	—
Bookkeeper (works in office)	—
Carpenter (skilled at house building)	—
Chauffeur (runs automobile)	—
Engineer (civil, mechanical or electrical)	—
Clergyman (minister, pastor, preacher or priest) ..	—
Professor (teachers in college or university)	—
Ditch Digger (works with pick and shovel)	—
Merchant (owns general store of moderate size) ..	—
School Teacher (in rural or city high school)	—
Factory Manager (manages mill but does not own)	—
Factory Operative (runs machine in factory)	—
Farmer (owns and operates own farm)	—
Insurance Agent (sells life insurance)	—
Lawyer (practices law in court)	—
Machinist (skilled in repairing and making machines)	—
Man of Leisure (has income from inherited fortune)	—
Manufacturer (owner of a textile factory)	—

Physician (practices medicine)..... —
 Salesman (represents wholesale company)..... —
 Soldier (in United States army)..... —

the Sophomore 19.4 the Juniors, 20.3, and
 the Senior 21.2 years.

School.....Major Subject
 Year in School.....Age
 Father's Occupation.....
 Have you chosen a life work?.....
 In what general field?.....
 What specific work?.....

OCCUPATIONAL MAKE-UP OF THE GROUP

Attitudes are more or less crystallized points of view which result from continued suggestion and experience. The occupational background of the group of students, therefore, is important in analysis of their occupational attitudes, for it is indicative of the suggestions and experiences they have had in relation to occupations. The occupations of the fathers were listed by the sons. The list includes a total of 55 vocations. Of these, agriculture contributed by far the largest number. Two hundred and two listed farming as the father's occupation. In addition 15 listed farming combined with some other work, such as merchandising, banking, milling. In all 34.4 per cent may be accounted for as the products of agriculture. Merchandizing contributed 78 or 12.48 per cent. No other occupation contributed over 4.59 per cent. Railroad work contributed 28, or 4.59 per cent.

If one classified the students according to the 55 occupations which their fathers follow, the contributions to the make-up of the student body is as follows:

VOCATIONS	NUMBER	PER CENT OF WHOLE
Agriculture.....	217	34.4
Business.....	219	35.9
Government Positions.....	28	4.6
Professions.....	54	8.8
Skilled Labor.....	44	7.2
Unskilled Labor.....	1	0.20
Not stated.....	46	7.7
Total.....	609	98.8

From this classification and from a more detailed table not included here several conclusions of significance may be drawn. In the first place, so far as occu-

CLASSIFICATION OF GROUPS INCLUDED IN ANALYSIS

The group included in this study consisted of 609 of the 1082 regularly enrolled students as of January 21, 1926. All are men. This number represents 56.2 per cent of the total student body. The School of Agriculture, with an enrollment of 130, is represented by 99 men, or 76.1 per cent of its total enrollment. The Engineering School, with an enrollment of 523 students, is represented by 158, or 49.1 per cent of its total enrollment. The School of Science and Business, with 326 students, has 180, or 55.2 per cent of its total enrollment. The Textile School has 72, or 69.9 per cent of 103 students included. The two smallest schools have the largest percentage representation while the largest school has the greatest number but lowest percentage.

The Freshman class has a total enrollment of 444, of which 225 or 50.66 per cent were included in the study. The Sophomore class of 305 had 171 or 56.06 per cent. The Junior class, with an enrollment of 158 contributed 112 schedules or 70.99 per cent of the whole. The Senior class of 175 contributed 111, or 63.4 per cent of their number. It is to be noted that the two smaller classes contribute a larger percentage proportion of the total than the two larger classes, while the two larger classes present the greater number.

The average age of these boys was 19.8 years. The Freshman averaged 18.2 years,

pational experiences are concerned it is very clear that farming and business are the largest contributors. The professions and skilled labor have a few representatives while unskilled labor has none. In the second place, the business enterprises are located, for the most part in small towns and cities. North Carolina has few large cities. The business experiences therefore are received in small towns, and, except in a few cases are not of the large scale type. In the third place, it may be stated that the agricultural group are the sons of land owners. Few tenants and renters of soil can send their sons to college. A fourth conclusion of general significance is that unskilled labor is not contributing students to the college. The reasons are two: unskilled labor cannot afford college education for their children because of low wages; the unskilled labor is done largely by negroes. But poor white tenants are included in this group, of which class there are many in North Carolina.

The occupational attitudes expressed in this study, therefore, are those of rural boys and the sons of small town business men. It is out of this background that these attitudes are developed.

It may also be of significance to state the differences in the contributions of students to the different schools. So far as the School of Agriculture is concerned, 68.6 per cent gave farming as the father's occupation. Seven more gave farming combined with some other occupation as their fathers' work. In other words 75 per cent of the student body in the School of Agriculture come directly from the farm. Twenty per cent are scattered among 14 other occupations. Three per cent reported no occupation, while two reported the father as dead. The merchant group contributed five students and the teaching profession, two. No other occupation fur-

nished more than one. Twenty different vocations contributed students.

In the School of Science and Business, two occupations, those of farming and merchandising, furnish 55.8 per cent of the whole group. The type of merchant is that of the small town general store-keeper. In twenty instances they combine farming with merchandising. The majority of the students come therefore from the small town and farming areas of the state. The vocations that contribute the remainder of the group are widely scattered.

A total of forty-six different occupations contributed to the make-up of the group of 258 engineering men. Farming contributed 25.1 per cent of the total group, while the merchant contributed 11.4 per cent, a total of 37.5 per cent for both groups. The only other occupation contributing any considerable percentage of the group was that of railroading. Twenty students or 7.6 per cent came from railroad work. Contracting contributed 13 men or 4.9 per cent. Engineering contributed but six students to the group of 258. As one scans the list of occupations the impression is received that the student body consists largely of the sons of farmers and small business men. The professions are not heavily represented.

The significant factor concerning the vocations contributing students to the Textile School is that 17 students are sons of men superintending or managing textile plants. The farmer and farmer-merchant contribute 16 students and the merchant contributes six. Farming is thus a heavy feeder to the student body of this school also.

THE OCCUPATIONAL ATTITUDES

Method Employed. A chief problem in the field of sociology is the development of quantitative expressions for qualitative

data. Attitudes are qualitative and to express the degree of relationship between the attitudes of one group and another, it is necessary to get a measurable expression of these attitudes. In the present study each person was asked to express his attitude toward a group of occupations quantitatively by ranking the occupations in comparison with each other. The specific instructions read as follows: "After that occupation which you consider to have the highest social rating, on the basis of contribution to society, place the number '1;' after that which you think should occupy second place in this respect, the number '2;' and so on until finally you place '24' after that occupation which you think deserves the lowest social rating." Each group of students was told that if they felt that two or three occupations made the same contribution that they should rank them next to each other in order but to give each a separate rank. Thus in each completed questionnaire the twenty-four occupations were rated in relation to each other from 1 to 24. These ratings gave a quantitative expression of the attitude of each individual toward these occupations. The next step was to determine the degree of relationship between the separate expressions. The separate questionnaires were tabulated into frequency tables first by schools and then by classes. After tabulating each group, the median ranking for each occupation was computed. The median ranking was then used as an expression of the group attitude toward the occupation. Not only was the median ranking of each occupation computed for each school and class, but the median ranks for the total 609 students were computed. With the medians as the quantitative expression of the group attitudes for each class and school, the degree of relationship between these attitudes was computed by working

out the coefficients of correlation, using the medians of the Engineering School as the independent variable.

SIMILARITY OF ATTITUDES

The attitudes of the 609 students, when considered by classes and schools, agree

TABLE I
NUMERICAL RANKING OF TWENTY-FOUR OCCUPATIONS
BY 609 NORTH CAROLINA STATE COLLEGE
STUDENTS BY SCHOOLS

	AGRICULTURE (99)	ENGINEERING (258)	TEXTILE (72)	SCIENCE AND BUSINESS (180)	TOTAL GROUP (609)
Clergyman.....	1	1	1	3	1
Physician.....	2	2	2	1	2
Professor.....	3	3	3	4	3
Banker.....	4	4	4	2	4
Engineer.....	8	5	8	7	5
Manufacturer.....	6	8	5	5	6
Lawyer.....	9	9	9	6	7
School Teacher.....	7	6	6	10	8
Farmer.....	5	7	7	9	9
Merchant.....	10	10	11	8	10
Factory Manager.....	11	11	10	11	11
Machinist.....	12	12	12	15	12
Bookkeeper.....	14	14	16	12	13
Carpenter.....	13	13	13	18	14
Insurance Agent.....	16	15	15	14	15
Salesman.....	15	16	14	13	16
Factory Operative.....	17	17	17	20	17
Barber.....	19	19	18	19	18
Blacksmith.....	20	18	19	21	19
Baseball Player.....	21	21	20	17	20
Soldier.....	18	20	21	22	21
Chauffeur.....	22	22	22	23	22
Man of Leisure.....	23	24	23	16	23
Ditch Digger.....	24	23	24	24	24

very closely. Inspection of the data reveals that there are but slight differences both in the median ranks and the numerical ranks for the 24 occupations. Table III gives the coefficients of correlation between the median ranks of these four groups. In each case the coefficient is

very high, showing a very marked similarity in the expression of the attitudes. In no case did this fall below $+0.9429$, while in five of eight instances it was above $+0.90$.

The general conclusions to be drawn, therefore, from these tables, is that each

TABLE II
NUMERICAL RANKING BY CLASSES OF TWENTY-FOUR
OCCUPATIONS BY 609 NORTH CAROLINA
STATE COLLEGE STUDENTS

	FRESHMAN (225)	SOPHOMORE (171)	JUNIOR (112)	SENIOR (111)	TOTAL GROUP (609)
Clergyman.....	1	2	2	1	1
Physician.....	2	1	1	2	2
Professor.....	3	4	4	3	3
Banker.....	4	3	3	4	4
Engineer.....	7	6	5	5	5
Manufacturer.....	5	5	6	8	6
Lawyer.....	9	8	7	7	7
School Teacher.....	6	9	9	6	8
Farmer.....	8	7	8	9	9
Merchant.....	10	10	10	11	10
Factory Manager.....	11	11	11	10	11
Machinist.....	12	12	12	12	12
Bookkeeper.....	13	13	16	13	13
Carpenter.....	14	15	14	16	14
Insurance Agent.....	16	14	15	13	15
Salesman.....	15	16	13	14	16
Factory Operative.....	17	17	18	18	17
Barber.....	18	18	19	17	18
Blacksmith.....	19	20	17	19	19
Baseball Player.....	20	19	21	20	20
Soldier.....	21	21	20	21	21
Chauffeur.....	23	23	22	22	22
Man of Leisure.....	22	22	24	24	23
Ditch Digger.....	24	24	23	23	24

occupation has, in the minds of these college men, a fairly definite status. The course of study pursued, although it tends to bias the judgment in its favor, does not influence to any marked degree. Nor does the year in college seem to cause any marked change in these attitudes.

An organization of these occupations into general classifications, shows that the professions are consistently ranked highest. Business occupations are ranked second; the skilled trades are ranked third, recreational occupations (only one included, baseball) fourth; unskilled work fifth. The man of leisure, who represents no specific occupation is ranked sixth. This ranking is true both for schools and classes.

TABLE III
COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN MEDIAN
RANKS OF VARIOUS GROUPS

	COEFFICIENT OF CORRELATION
School group	
Total Engineering Group with Total Group of 609.....	$+0.9942$
Total Agricultural Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9935$
Total Science and Business with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9805$
Total Textile Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9976$
Class group	
Total Freshman Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9776$
Total Sophomore Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9972$
Total Junior Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9429$
Total Senior Group with Total Engineering.....	$+0.9946$

ATTITUDES OF THE SCHOOLS

The clergyman is ranked first by each of the schools, except the School of Science and Business which ranks him third. The total group gives him the first ranking. This estimate of the clergyman is probably due to the traditional emphasis placed upon his work as representative of God, righteousness, and high ideals and shows the strength of this attitude as it still exists in small towns and rural regions.

Each group of students shows a bias toward the occupations for which the school in which they are enrolled trains. Thus engineering is ranked fifth by engineers but seventh and eighth by other schools; farming is ranked fifth by agricultural students, but seventh and ninth by other groups. The manufacturer is ranked fifth by textile students, but fifth and sixth, and eighth by the other groups. The business and science students rank the banker second, whereas the other groups place him fourth. The fact, however, that each of these groups place three professions namely, clergyman, physician and professor ahead of their own vocations, indicated the prevalence of the traditional attitude favoring the so-called professions, with the exception of law, which is ranked nine, nine, nine, six respectively or seventh by the whole group. The bias in favor of their own types of work causes law to experience this drop.

Students in the School of Science and Business deviate slightly from the other groups in their rating of some of the occu-

pations. They show the lowest correlation of any school, 0.9805 of the occupations. They rate the clergyman, school teacher, machinist, carpenter and the factory operative lower than the other schools. They rate the banker, manufacturer, merchant, machinist, salesman, baseball player, and man of leisure higher than the other groups.

ATTITUDES OF CLASSES

Table II gives the numerical rankings of the occupations by classes. When correlated with the engineering group they give coefficients of +0.94 for Juniors, +0.97 for Freshmen, and +0.99 for Sophomores, and +0.99 for Seniors. The occupations are not shifted more than three places in any case, and most of them are shifted but one place, if at all. When compared with each other there is a very definite consistency throughout. The additional information, therefore, which is gained in college concerning these occupations does not seem to influence the attitudes toward them, so far at least as social contribution is concerned.

MORE LIGHT FOR COMPETITION

LEVERETT S. LYON

THE desirability of competition as a generally prevalent mechanism in our economic order has never been everywhere accepted. Nor has there ever been a time when there were not movements afoot likely to modify the theoretical operations of that institution. Tariffs, labor unions, coöperative associations, subsidies, and industrial consolidations are a few of the many important forms of invasion into untrammelled free enterprise. Recently, vigorous attacks upon competition have come from relatively

passive quarters and have been made upon hitherto comparatively quiet fronts. The agriculturalists, for example, are asking for important special legislation.¹ The accepted modes of merchandise distribution are coming in for unprecedented questioning.² Some of our English contempora-

¹ The struggle for the McNary-Haugen Bill is obviously the best current illustration.

² Not only have there been a number of recent books assailing modern methods of selling goods, but bills were introduced in the last Congress for the purpose of checking accepted practices.

ries, viewing the scene as a whole, see competition, if not actually gone, as passing from the stage.³

One of the very interesting current American experiments with *laissez-faire* is to be found in certain activities of the United States Department of Commerce. First to be noticed is the Market Research Conference called in Washington in October 1926 by the Department and participated in by some seventy-five business men, economists, statisticians, and representatives of government bureaus. The business representatives were anything but the small fry of commerce. They were the key-men of advertising agencies, the heads of research bureaus, the representatives of Chambers of Commerce, the advisors of manufacturing and public utility concerns.

Out of the Conference and subsequent discussion there grew a so-called Central Committee of Market Research. This Committee has met in Washington and has outlined a very vigorous program of investigation. A census of distribution covering thirty or forty large cities and a number of small ones is to be pushed forward rapidly. A complete distribution study of Washington and its environs is to be begun at once. Congress will be urged to make appropriations for a complete merchandise census. Appointments have been made to provide for consultation and coöperation with existing divisions of government in gathering statistical material. Ways and means are to be sought for extending our knowledge of consumer expenditures. Trade associations are to be asked what subjects particularly need investigation. Universities will be urged to coöperate in making surveys.

Such a meeting as the Conference held under the auspices of a grand division of

the Federal Government and such questions as those proposed by the Central Committee raise many questions for persons interested in business, in government, and in the relations of the two, but none more interesting than the question whether such activities lead. Will these efforts to gather a greater amount of information for business men lead toward a more intelligent and enlightened competition? And is it possible that they may lead elsewhere? And, if so, where? To consider such a question, we must remind ourselves just what the business man is about in the modern world.

In the contemporary industrial case, he—the business man—is the leading character. He is the headliner in current economic drama. With sincere, unhumorous self-confidence, with a bit of hearty swagger, and with elements both of the tragic and of the picturesque, he plays the rôle of organizer. Though not without support nor lacking understudies, he has been since the days when industry changed from production for use to production for sale, the most significant character on the industrial stage. We look to him to determine when goods shall be produced, what goods shall be produced, and in what quantities. We look to him to offer us changes in style, kind and quality, when and as he will. We expect him to offer us goods at a definite price, marked in plain figures, and with no expectation of being "Jewed down."

The theory which explains the significant position of the private organizer, and which justifies him in the leading part, is a theory of social beneficence. It is believed that the free enterpriser better than any substitute can perform the important duties with which he is invested. It is believed that in determining what goods shall be produced, he will be guided by what we want, and moreover that he

³ See John Maynard Keynes's *The End of Laissez-Faire*.

will meet our want for various things in proper proportion (though, of course, our wants are counted only when we offer to cross his palm with gold and are counted in the degree that we can do so). It is believed that his estimates of style, kind and quality, will fit our wishes and that his prices will be just. It is believed that the prices for any class of goods will be no higher than the necessary costs plus a fair profit. There is even some hope that the profit may be absent.

Now these notions of the beneficial results of private enterprise organization do not rest upon a belief in the intentional good will of the business organizer. They rely on the fact that the enterpriser is not one, but multitude and being many, competition exists. And competition is a control. It controls the avaricious inclinations of each enterpriser. It compels him to yield to the consumer the things that should be his. We may, if competition reigns, look to the enterpriser to invent, project, improve and construct, but we may expect competition to deprive him of the undue fruits of these efforts and to garner them into the bins of the consumers. It is believed that in a competitive world the efforts of the enterpriser to serve himself will cause him to serve us all, and to serve us better than we could be served otherwise.

But all of this, in turn, is based upon an assumption. This assumption is not too often expressed, nor is it always recognized. It is the assumption that people, both producers and consumers, know what they are about. For the maker of goods, the needed knowledge is of several kinds. The manufacturer needs to know, as well as his competitor, the sources of raw materials; he needs to know a technique of production as effective as the one his competitor knows; he needs to know how many competitors he has; how many goods

each competitor expects to produce, and the prices at which they are likely to be offered. He needs to know what people will buy and when and where and at what price as well as any one else knows it. Each enterpriser, of course, prefers to know these things better than his rivals, but he must know them as well if he is really to compete.

Such an amount of information is indeed difficult to secure. There may have been a day when the maker of goods could determine satisfactorily what he needed to know, but that was before the craft-shop changed into a gigantic industrial plant. There may have been such a day for the transporter, but it was when the transporter was a porter rather than the director of a trans-continental railroad. That day for the farmer was when agriculture was for consumption, or at most for a local market, rather than in world competition for international trade. For the builder that day existed when he was the local carpenter rather than when he became an apartment house constructor guessing at the rising tide of urbanization. If the time ever was when the producer of *better* goods at a *lower* price could count on their certain sale, that time is gone and it is futile to look for its return.

One difficulty lies in the matter of consumer's choices. Does the consumer know well what he is about? Unless the consumer can distinguish the better from the poorer, improved goods, or lower price, as an end for the producer, becomes, to a degree, meaningless. And does the consumer know? Is it possible for him to select with nice discrimination those wares which are of superior quality and are offered by the most technically efficient producers? By what standards can he measure in so simple a matter as selecting food, that which is most digestible, most nourishing, most impregnated with the

protein or the iron he has been told are indispensable? Or, in the purchase of a pair of shoes, a silk tie, or a piece of furniture, can he distinguish between leather which has been properly tanned and that which has been put through a forced process; can he tell silk which is not loaded from silk that is; or detect a piece of real mahogany among woods which are mahoganyized? Or, have the processes of manufacture become so complicated and varied, so proficient in making one thing look like another, that consumer judgment falters?

More paralyzing may well be the effort to choose with wisdom such a complicated contrivance as a surgeon's services, an automobile, a furnace, a subdivision house and a lot, or a corporation bond. Well may Professor Ripley ask for more information about securities. More is needed. But it is needed also for the scores of other goods among which one's purchases are divided. The consumer's standards in judging many of his possible purchases are indeed of strange construction—a mixture of his own experience, the ancient adages of trade, the tips of "wise" friends, the slogans of advertising campaigns, the "line" of a high pressure salesman, and a faith in well known brands. It is not strange that often he must view the price as his main criterion of worth. In such cases he has come to know not whether an article is good at the price, but by its price whether it is good. A strange phenomenon, surely, is a competitive world!

But hardly less strange in the light of the market theory that better goods at a lower price will find a sale are the efforts of the producer to secure for himself the information needed to sell his output. No more he depends upon the accumulated experience of the head of the business; no more does he rely upon such information

as may be brought in by the sales representatives and the correspondence of customers. Even the market survey made either by staff workers of the business or by hired experts, although still a new device, already is seen to be inadequate. Trade associations furnishing price statistics and figures of production are helpful, but they do not satisfy.

As a result the business man appears increasingly to seek governmental aid. For many years the farmer has sought, through the collection of statistics by the Department of Agriculture, knowledge of competition and prospective prices that would be helpful to him. The manufacturer has been slower to call for help. But he is calling now, and the Department of Commerce is responding. The Conference on Market Research and the plans of the Central Committee are among the vigorous replies.

The clashes of viewpoint exhibited at the October Conference throw interesting light on the points of harmony and discord which arise when private interests and public representatives join forces. On the part of the business men, there was much urge for a study of the marketing possibilities for specific commodities. But the Government representatives appeared to have learned valuable lessons from their experience in making such studies in the past. Diligently and emphatically they insisted that the conferees should consider only possibilities of general research. Such a position is certainly the only tenable one for the Department. Difficult indeed will be the task of a governmental agency that undertakes to furnish a guide book to success for some of our great enterprises but it is unable to do so for all of them. At the very best, even general research will be vastly more useful to certain types of business men, such as manufacturers and wholesalers and ad-

vertising agencies, than it will to many others, and it will be of more service to large manufacturers and distributors of goods for general use than it will be to those whose business is small or whose product goes to comparatively few buyers.

But more interesting is the central question involved: Where do such activities lead? In a world which still believes in the theory of individual enterprise a strange and motley competition appears to be that which finds those directing great industries seeking to have the social agency of government furnish them with information upon the basis of which they may compete "successfully."

And gather data as we may, there is always a peculiar and seemingly unsurpassable limitation in information for individually guided industries. In directing their business affairs, competitors can never have quite all the information they need, for it is important that each one have, among other things, information about what his competitor is going to do. If one competitor has that information

about a second, he will act somewhat differently than he otherwise would; but if the second has information about how the first is going to act on the basis of what the first knows about the second's intended actions, the second will act differently than would otherwise have been the case, and thus invalidate the information of the first. And so on *ad infinitum*.

The search for knowledge and the furnishing of information by the government will bring a new competition of which these things are to be said: On certain matters it will be more knowing and less blind; it may be less costly to the individual competitors insofar as groups secure what individuals sought single-handed heretofore; it may be less costly to business insofar as the costs are shifted from private enterprises to the public purse; it will become less a competition among businesses of a single kind and more a struggle of groups in the same kind of business for a share in the income of other groups.

But fully enlightened competition can never be—for complete knowledge and competition are mutually exclusive ideas.

LEARNING WHILE YOU PLAY—ANOTHER VENTURE IN WORKERS' EDUCATION

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

TUCKED away a thousand feet up among the hills of the Palasades Interstate Park in southeastern New York, one hundred and forty girls from the industrial centers of New England, New York and New Jersey—girls of thirty odd trades and more than a score of nationalities ranging in age from sixteen to thirty—gathered for two weeks last summer under the leadership of the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association. A varied group of people it was. From a score of cities,

girls straight from the bench and the shop, bringing experiences of every kind in home and industry, thrown together in the complete freedom of camp life in virgin country under rules of their own making, emerged "into the first stage of group consciousness and social action."

The leaven working through the group was first, the score of Y. W. C. A. Industrial Secretaries, who came with their delegations, about half of whom acted as "tutors" (following the Bryn Mawr nomenclature), and second, an almost equal

number of teachers from city schools, the Women's Bureau, and the New York Department of Labor, who headed up each day's discussion groups that revolved about the issues raised in the various lectures. A general course, "The World We Live In," tracing the growth of America racially and economically and suggesting some of the problems in our present industrial system, ran through about one-half of the Conference, while a number of "experts" came in to present special topics such as Health and Industry, the Work of the Women's Bureau, etc., in one or two special lectures.

These lectures usually came in the first hour after flag raising and Assembly in the morning, and were followed by a discussion in small groups of ten or twelve members each with the tutors. The rest of the morning was given over to play and committee meetings—of which there were the usual number and variety, from Self-government to Stunt. After dinner and rest hour there was swimming, boating, hiking, nature study and loafing with an occasional afternoon lecture. Every evening but one during the entire Conference was filled with entertainment, serious or otherwise—a reading by Countee Cullen, a mock legislative hearing on protective legislation for women, a pageant of the silk industry, ancient and modern, (by girls from the Passaic mills) and a number of stunt nights. Perhaps the greatest skill of all was displayed in the "Tailor Shop," a musical comedy, written, arranged and managed by an immigrant garment worker from New York, the costumes and the lines of which, set as they were to excellent music, would prove a popular hit anywhere on Broadway. Nor was other talent, literary and artistic, lacking, as the twenty page camp newspaper written and edited entirely by the girls attested.

But what has all this to do with workers' education? First of all, it was a project in living together,—no small achievement for a group thrown into the intimate contact of camp life from backgrounds which represented a substantial cross section of American life. All of the girls were American, some for a hundred years or more and some for not as many months. They were of "all colors" and of a kaleidoscopic variety of experience. Some had never seen green trees and running water. For others this was "just one more camp." Some had established jobs, good wages and fair working conditions, and were independent of their families, or else had established their own. More than a score were first generation immigrants from homes where old world traits, paternal discipline and control of the pay envelope still left them no pin money which they could call their own. It is significant that only about a dozen of this random group were union members, mostly in the needle and metal trades and the boot and shoe industry. Wages varied widely from eight and nine dollars a week to forty-five, as did hours from forty-four to fifty-eight. As a whole these girls represented that increasing group of women who are committed by one reason or another to the industrial cycle for life—only the most romantic (and the least frequent) marriage would lift them out of it. And yet these individuals, so variant in traditions, in economic security and experience, with such striking social differences, that ranged from Harlem and Passaic to Haverhill and Hartford, were knit together by the common experience of their labor, and through that experience were able to achieve the beginnings of objective comparison and analysis of their position.

It was in the discussion groups where the girls could bring out their own ex-

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periences and relate them to the more abstract data of the lectures or to their companions, experiences in other trades and other factories, that these girls found the intellectual tools and began to use them, some at least for the first time, for the development of a more realistic consideration of their own industrial life, as a part of the larger problem of Women in Industry. Debate which ranged around the value of organization and the significance of trade unions, the futility of individual action, the ultimate injury that social cleavage makes whereby colored girls are sometimes forced to underbid because that is the only path to a job, became the first step toward corporate thinking which most of these girls had taken.

But projects in education began rather than ended with the formal lectures and discussions. The continually shifting scene of nature, as it reached out to them in the trees and flowers and birds and spoke from the skies at night, so exceedingly new for many of the girls, was skillfully woven into the life of the camp by an unusually sympathetic nature lover. Swimming, hiking and games were to some new adventures in coöperation. A coöperative book-shop, run by a Board of Directors elected by the share holders (the girls), was in itself a project in the cooperative movement and offered at the end a matter of very real policy for the decision of the members. Should the dividends be returned to the members in proportion to their purchases, or should they be given to some specific enterprise as a gift from the camp? Debate on the question developed a wide range of argument that would have done credit to the most rationalistic of economists. Ultimately the decision to use the money for the relief of the Passaic strike, which had been a matter of special interest and study, brought out the fundamental urge to unity in industry

which the group as a whole clearly developed as the Conference progressed.

The many special lectures, the various projects, like the legislative hearing—which was realistic enough for the most hardened of our state solons; the status of the domestic worker, brought home vividly by the presence of a number of household workers; the flag raising exercises; and the various meetings for informal discussion of questions raised; the Sunday services, centering around the "liturgy" made up of the prayers and hymns of many nations,—these and other aspects of the crowded two weeks, crossed new frontiers of interest for every one of the girls and developed that corporate seeking for more truth and wider horizons of understanding which lie at the heart of all education.

And this conference was one of five regional conferences, which included between eight and nine hundred industrial girls last summer, administered by the Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association. The conferences are at once the culmination of the year's work during the winter for the discussion of their own problems and the development of a program for such conferences as this, which they make for themselves; and the impetus for the next year's program at the home basis to which these girls return quickened into a new sense of the responsibility of leadership and the importance of group action in industry. They serve often as training grounds for the more advanced schools like Brookwood Labor College and the Bryn Mawr and Wisconsin summer schools to which a number of these girls have gone on for further pioneering in leadership. The growing army of women in industry will absorb many more of these young leaders than are available.¹ These conferences,

¹ See, for instance, the Report of the Women's Bureau for the year ending June 30, 1926.

if the Prospect Camp Conference of 1926 is a typical sample, are perhaps the best recruiting grounds for industrial leadership we have today in America. For they offer in their "curriculum" not merely the formal elements of education but the rudiments of those criteria for effective social action which can make living together in a world where opportunities and rewards are so differently distributed successful. The Industrial Department of the Young Women's Christian Association has created a new and significant force in the field of workers education under the able leadership of the National Secretary. The local Secretaries of the Industrial Department are developing an esprit de corps for a program of democratic industrial and

social organization which will prove a dynamic influence in the changing status of women in industry.

The staff meetings at Camp Prospect, where such questions as the relation of white and colored girls in industry and social contacts, were frankly discussed with both groups represented, were of the most realistic and searching kind. Such projects as this in workers' education are perhaps the most interesting attempts now being made at mass education in this country. The Industrial Department is itself working at a pioneer job in this field and bids fair to mark out a new technique for the great adventure of training workers to think more clearly and more socially.

A series of studies from the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina to be published at an early date will include **NEGRO BUSINESS STUDIES AND NEGRO AGRICULTURAL CREDIT FACILITIES** by T. J. Woofster Jr., Thomas Holland, and Roland B. Eutsler; **A HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL WELFARE WORK IN NORTH CAROLINA** by Harriet L. Herring; **CASE STUDIES OF MILL VILLAGE COMMUNITIES** by Jennings J. Rhyne; **THE DEVELOPMENT OF ORGANIZED LABOR IN THE SOUTH** by George Mitchell; **WILLIAM GREGG: A STUDY OF THE FRONTIER OF SOUTHERN TEXTILE DEVELOPMENT** by Broadus Mitchell; **STATE RAILROAD BUILDING AND OPERATION IN NORTH CAROLINA** by Cecil K. Brown.



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Special Book Reviews by HARRY ELMER BARNES, FRANK H. HANKINS, CLARK WISSLER,
PHILLIPS BRADLEY, FLOYD N. HOUSE, MALCOLM WILLEY, AND OTHERS

INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

	PAGE
The Science of Society.....	Frank H. Hankins 291
Sumner and Keller's THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY.	
Progress in the Social Sciences.....	L. L. Bernard 295
Hayes' RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.	
Rural Problems.....	Bruce Melvin 298
Bizzell's THE GREEN RISING; King's FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES; Lundquist and Carver's PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY.	
Analyzing the Spectrum of International Relations.....	Phillips Bradley 300
Beach's WORLD MISSIONARY ATLAS; Toynbee's SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1924; Fischer's OIL IMPERIALISM; Jenks' THE MIGRATION OF BRITISH CAPITAL TO 1875; Thorp's BUSINESS ANNALS; Jerome's MIGRATION AND BUSINESS CYCLES; Plummer and White's MARKETS OF THE UNITED STATES; THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS (Special Africa Number); Smith's THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN AFRICA; Zimmerman's THE THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE; Whyte's ASIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY; Clyde's INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES IN MANCHURIA, 1689-1922; Shotwell, Lindsay, and Moon's INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS; The ANNALS THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN SITUATION; Johnsen's WAR: CAUSE AND CURE; Beaman's MILITARY TRAINING COMPULSORY IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.	
Sarton's INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE, VOLUME I.....	Harry Elmer Barnes 304
Social Philosophy.....	L. L. Bernard 305
Leighton's THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL ORDER; Bougle's THE EVOLUTION OF VALUES.	
Mobility and Differentiation.....	Frank H. Hankins 306
Sorokin's SOCIAL MOBILITY; North's SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION.	
Huntington's THE PULSE OF PROGRESS.....	L. L. Bernard 308
Weatherly's SOCIAL PROGRESS.....	Frank H. Hankins 309
Book Notes.....	Frank H. Hankins 310
Book Lists.....	Katharine Jocher 317

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIETY. By William Graham Sumner and Albert Galloway Keller. Vols. I and II. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1927. 1481 pp. \$4.00 each.

It is now twenty years since Sumner's *Folkways* was published and immediately recognized as a very distinctive contribution to sociological theory. That book was originally intended to form a section

of a larger work upon which its author had been engaged since 1899. But at Sumner's death in 1910 this larger work was in a very fragmentary state. It devolved upon Professor Keller, colleague and disciple, to work over the vast amount of materials left by Sumner, who had given him *carte blanche* "to omit, to add, and to alter." It was no easy task, for I

have been told that quantities of Sumner's notes were in his own code, for which a cipher must first be discovered and then tediously applied. Its successful consummation after sixteen years is attested by these two large and meaty volumes to be followed by two others, a brilliant and unique monument of steadfast devotion and painstaking effort. Few passages of the text are now in Sumner's original wording, though the basic plan has remained much as he outlined it.

The work as a whole is intended for the college student and intelligent layman, but its size and solidity of style will limit its circle of readers. Its key-word is "adjustment." That is, the authors have sought "the sense of societal customs and institutions. That means to us their expediency as adjustments in living." They are little interested, therefore, in origins, though their viewpoint requires that they be especially interested in the evolution of the folkways in adjustment and readjustment to a changing social milieu. "The adjustment of men to their surroundings is the controlling thought of this book." And the basic condition which determines the form of this adjustment is the man-land ratio, the number of persons per unit of territory. The work thus begins, as did Spencer in his *Principles*, with man and physical nature as the two original elements from which derives the whole social evolution.

The authors remind us slightly of certain idealizations of our Revolutionary fathers when they view man as non-gregarious by nature and as endowed with a strong love of personal liberty. Both of these are disputable propositions, the truth probably being that there is an ambivalence of gregarious and individualistic tendencies in human nature, both tendencies being explained in the evolution-causal sense by the two-fold (group and

individual) nature of the struggle for existence. This would alter somewhat the authors' view that association is a discovery due to the operation of interest and intelligence. We agree, however, that it was improved by experience and invention and rendered habitual by usage.

The term "socializing forces" is applied to hunger, sex-love, vanity and ghost-fear, "because, being the stimuli that drove men into society and held them there, they may be said to have socialized mankind." While these constitute the basis of their social psychology, the authors do not enter into any extended discussion of the problems of instinct, habit, modification of human nature and other matters now absorbing the attention of social psychologists. Obviously these four "forces" are not homogeneous in kind. One might find an instinctive basis for the first three but not for the fourth.

Moreover, one wonders whether these "forces" would have produced society. "Hunger, love and even vanity, in part, are instinctive, but the stress toward association which they combine to create, is not." This is consistent with the view that man is atomistic or non-gregarious by nature and that society is an artificial construct, but does not make clear just how the first association or grouping of men was brought about. This first grouping could not have grown out of ghost-fear, for this came afterwards. Vanity also finds its chief arena in the group; it is not group producing but group stimulated. Since vanity is in part rooted in the egoistic desire for the esteem of others it is even questionable whether an animal that was wholly non-gregarious could manifest it. The same may be said of the self-abnegating attitudes involved in religious devotion. I think it may be questioned also whether hunger or sex-love would have resulted in conscious and purposeful asso-

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ciation, even with the operation of all the intelligence and constructive imagination that primitive man shows himself capable of manifesting previous to, and in the absence of, experience.

It is no doubt impossible to prove the authors wrong and yet the reviewer is skeptical. They cannot, in any case, present an inductive proof because a completely atomistic human variety does not now exist and is not known ever to have existed. It would seem that there must have been some rudimentary instinctive tendency toward association, rooted in the struggle for existence. Even the wolf shows a type of gregariousness, as do also the baboons and oranges. Even on a very rudimentary instinctive basis could have been slowly built by social conditioning the attitudes essential for more and more complex society. The authors' position puts too great a strain on reason. In this also they hark back to the 18th century rationalists. Thus, like Hobbes, they base their study of regulative institutions on the observed necessity of putting an end to the destructive action of mutual antagonisms through the maintenance of peace and order. It is not an impossible theory, but as presented it is far from psychologically complete.

Society is nearly defined as a cooperating group of human beings seeking self-maintenance and self-perpetuation. Self-maintenance gives rise to three major institutions and sets of activity. At the basis of all social life are industrial organization, property, and the regulative organization, all of them out-reachings of the hunger or preservative interest. Closely related in actual functioning is religion, an elaboration of ghost-fear. Self preservation gives rise to marriage and the family. Finally, there are various expressions of vanity or the self-gratification interest, such as dress ornament, etiquette, war-glory, games, gambling, and the fine arts.

The basic plan of the work is thus clear and simple, always a great advantage in a work designed for college students. Something more must be said, however, to expose the basic theory. As would be expected the unit of investigation is the folkway, a term used in precisely the same way in which the cultural anthropologists now speak of culture trait. These are responses to human needs and are conceived to be the agencies whereby society adjusts itself to its habitat; their initial significance is expressed in their alteration or maintenance of the man-land ratio.

The folkways undergo processes of evolutionary change. As would be expected by those familiar with Professor Keller's *Societal Evolution*, the processes to which the mores are subjected are variation, selection and transmission. These processes are in the authors' view as impersonal as their biological analogues. Professor Keller here takes a highly detached view which will largely commend itself to advocates of social determinism and the super-organic. "A society lives and evolves in accordance with laws of its own; the individual can be left to the sciences which make a business of investigating his body and mind. We believe societal phenomena to be due to the operation of impersonal, automatically acting forces which transcend altogether the range of individual powers and control and produce effects characteristic of themselves alone. Such a conception provides, to our view, the sole reason for existence of a science of society and assures to it a distinctive range of its own" (p. 40). They add that the common custom of referring societal results to conscious, reasoned and purposeful action on the part of the individual is confusing and unproductive. This seems inconsistent in those who think society itself is a result of conscious, reasoned and purposeful action.

In any case, there is no place in the authors' scheme for the great man theory. But if one individual produces no effect, how can a group do so? It may be recalled again that the authors have made society itself an artful creation of utilitarian calculation. But if men can create society, can they not affect its evolution? The authors themselves find that public opinion is the ultimate regulative force. But cannot this be studied and then regulated and controlled? These questions are stated less by way of criticism than in order to bring out unsolved problems of current social theory. The standpoint of the authors in taking society in the large as their object of study, of working outward from elemental human nature to social institutions, though it does not cover all we want to know about social life, is tenable. But there seems to be a hiatus in the demonstration of how it is that the intimately personal (but "socializing") forces of hunger and love are transformed into powerful, impersonal forces removed from human control and regulation. Here, indeed, is one of the dilemmas of current social theory. At the same time, the viewpoint of the authors has the inestimable value of eliminating the gushing sentimentality and unreasoning optimism of radical and journalistically-minded social reformers.

In general, the Sumner-Keller treatment of most matters is marked by conservative common sense rather than radical and erratic brilliancy. For example, they stick to the old idea of economic stages—collection, hunting, pastoral and agricultural. But they do not imply, as did Spencer and the school of orthogenetic evolutionists, that every people passed through these stages in this order in consequence of the mysterious operation of some inevitable evolutionary law. On the contrary, they show how there may

be a reversion from agriculture to hunting with a change of habitat. But they justify their use of the series on the sound principle that these are obvious types of economy and that each is an advance over its predecessor in that it alters the man-land ratio toward greater density.

Conservatism is shown also in the sections dealing with sex differences and labor specialization. The view presented will be assailed as old-fashioned by the feminist cult, though it is in general harmony with both common sense and social necessity. However, it must be said that the authors too frequently attribute to innate sex differences and instinctive predilections what is clearly due to psychological conditioning by social tradition and habit.

Nor are these the only places where a conservative view is taken. The treatment throughout may be described as classical, in the sense that it derives from the older masters. It will thus be criticized as reflecting too faintly the newer views of social anthropology and social psychology. The evolutionary view is maintained in the treatment of religious phenomena but the comparative ethnological method which is used produces a somewhat artificial and stilted effect. One might easily quarrel with both terminology and definitions in certain respects. And yet this second volume constitutes a sort of encyclopedia of classified material, and the connection of magic and religion with the aleatory element in life is very illuminating.

The Science of Society is a notable achievement. It is packed with hard-headed sense and sound reasoning. The serious student will find much in it to arouse thought and enlighten his mind. If the work as a whole seems likely to prove a bit cumbersome for general use, it will nevertheless take rank among the more notable contributions to sociology.

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PROGRESS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

L. L. BERNARD

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES.

Edited by Edward Carey Hayes. Philadelphia:
J. B. Lippincott Co. 1927. Pp. vii + 427.
\$3.50.

The idea of Professor Hayes of providing a summary of the more important recent advances in Sociology (by Charles A. Ellwood), Anthropology (by Clark Wissler), Psychology Contributory to Social Explanation (by Robert H. Gault), Cultural Geography (by Carl O. Sauer), Economics (by John M. Clark), Political Science (by Charles E. Merriam), and History (by Harry E. Barnes) is a good one and it has been carried out by the special writers with varying degrees of success. Readers of this journal will be most interested in the sociology section. Dr. Ellwood is inclined to think that the four major tendencies in sociology since 1909, when Professor Cooley's *Social Organization* wrought a sort of transformation in the outlook of the subject, have been (1) "to stress the importance of the mental side of social life," (2) "to overcome 'particularism' by an organic or synthetic view of social life," (3) "to develop a composite method which shall synthesize all minor methods of social research and investigations," and (4) "to develop sociology in the interest of ethical ideals and of social reconstruction." His treatment of his theme cuts across these major tendencies rather than develops them in detail. His discussion falls almost wholly within the field of what he once called "psychological sociology," gives no attention to social geographic tendencies and but little to biological sociology. He mentions in passing (p. 2) the influence of physico-mathematical sciences upon sociological methodology; refers to statistical and survey methods (p. 44), in connec-

tion with Giddings and Branford and Geddes; recognizes the case method (p. 45), but in part confuses those who have used it with those who have merely written about it. In spite of his emphasis upon a trend toward the development of a composite method, he does not demonstrate from his studies any such conception on the part of the sociologists themselves. Lindeman, perhaps, comes closest to it in theory, if not in practice. On the whole the sociologists appear to be, with respect to this matter, in the "conflict stage" rather than in the "coöperative stage" of thinking. To social ethics he gives a paragraph; and to rural sociology, educational sociology, and the sociology of religion together he devotes a single paragraph. Criminology, child welfare, social work, and other phases of applied sociology are ignored. Possibly this omission was imposed by the editor: in which case perhaps there should have been some other provision for the treatment of these subjects in the volume.

The chief themes with which Dr. Ellwood deals are communication, the culture concept, the instinct controversy, social forces, the individual and the group, conflict and coöperation, concepts of sociology, and methodology. While he accepts the doctrine of the central importance of the group concept in sociology, he is not prepared to go the whole way with the culture determinists who would, apparently, make the stream of culture as independent of individual influences as the Weismannians conceived the germ plasm to be. He insists that the individual exercises an important reactive influence upon the stream of culture, but he misses an excellent opportunity at this point to show the importance of in-

vention and of the environment in determining directly and indirectly the effective reaction of the individual upon the cultural stream. In fact, he does not seem to be aware of the work on the theory of invention and environment which has been produced since 1909; or if he has reviewed it, he must have missed its significance for his own viewpoint. He leaves the reacting individual up in the air, as if hesitating to appeal on the one hand to the motivation of the exploded doctrines of underived will and on the other to a doctrine of instinctive determination, which he himself has largely abandoned, in recent years, under the influence of studies which he only partly illuminates in his paper. He shows up fairly effectively the unsoundness of the universal cultural pattern concept of Wissler and even more effectively he explodes the social forces concept which still persists among some of our sociologists. From the reviewer's standpoint, it is to be regretted that he did not devote a section (perhaps there was not space) to the methodological license of the same sociologists in reviving the wholesale use of analogical concepts and explanations in sociology instead of seeking to build up sociology on the basis of a direct analysis of social phenomena. The "conflict" sociologists, whom he criticises, may possibly accuse him of missing the significance which they attribute to conflict in producing coöperation. He lends himself mildly to the controversy over concepts without noting the fact that this struggle for concepts has its limitations and may be worse than barren if it develops into a "pigeon hole" philosophy and a gerrymandering eclecticism which tends to replace the more important business of sociological analysis. To be sure, concepts are necessary as labels and means of standardization and identification, but perhaps there is even a greater

virtue in the present day sociologist who breaks up concepts and without pity destroys the smoothness of the sociological terrain in his search for more ultimate units for synthesis. Those who make new concepts are perhaps, therefore, always farther away from the scholastics than those who classify them.

On the whole, Dr. Ellwood's treatment of his subject is one of the best essays in the volume, but it contains, in addition to those mentioned above, some omissions of importance. Although one of the most conspicuous advances in sociology since 1909 has been the reversal in sociological circles of the prevailing attitude toward the instinct interpretation, he does not bring out this fact. He uses the term culture in the immaterial sense to the exclusion of the material. He ignores, almost completely, the growing emphasis upon environment as a sociological correlate for the anthropological concept of culture, which lends itself less readily to the extended analysis and differentiation which the sociologist will find it necessary to apply to the environment to coördinate its analysis with that of the correlate fact of personality. The newer sociology, if it is to escape that particularism in explanation which Dr. Ellwood justly makes war against, must come to see personality and environment as correlated concepts. Dr. Ellwood himself achieves an admirable protest against all deterministic views in sociology (pp. 39, 40), while formerly his protest was merely against "materialistic determinism." He does not review the periodical literature adequately, in spite of the fact that it contains some of the most important recent contributions. In discussing the merits of historical studies in sociology he fails to state perhaps the most significant of all of these, that is, the fact that it is through this approach that we may make a truly sociological

study of the conditions under which types of sociological theories arise and trace back these sociological interpretations as culture patterns to the antecedent patterns to which they are conditioned. Apparently his review does not come down beyond the summer of 1924 (footnote, p. 24) and therefore is now considerably out of date in the summer of 1927. This, however, may not be the fault of the writer, and the reviewer hesitates to criticise more than superficially a paper which has so many excellencies, recognizing the great difficulty and relative thanklessness of preparing such a comprehensive study as the one under discussion.

Wissler concentrates on the historical character of anthropological method and ends with a paen on the growing usefulness of his subject. It appears that anthropology began as a collector's art, pursued by wealthy dilettantes, and later achieved a museum status, in and out of the universities. In order that it might become a social science it has been necessary to give it more perspective and to ground its methods fundamentally. This has been its work in more recent years. Primarily it has been a time and space subject, particularly an earth-science, not unlike geography, in that it has studied much the distribution of cultures and their identification through the regional classification of cultural objects. In this respect it has been not unlike botany and zoology in their taxonomic stages. But it has also had its historical aspect, latterly emphasizing the diffusion of cultures. This historical viewpoint has generally been so pronounced that anthropologists have neglected to study existing cultures while in the midst of them seeking to preserve a few scraps of cultural survivals. The newer tendencies are to make use of psychological and biological methods of interpretation. The psychological methods

are particularly useful in the study of language and social organization. In this latter interest anthropology impinges upon sociology, as cultural anthropology, and as collective psychology. The new biological emphasis leads past the cephalic index and the study of other somatic traits—there the anthropologist halted for so long a period—to the study and analysis of mental traits. Here, also, is another impingement upon the field of sociology and social psychology. In fact, in the matter of sociological emphasis, Lewis H. Morgan was more advanced in outlook than any of the (American) anthropologists until quite recently. The author foresees a great practical development of anthropology and an advance in interest in applying its methods of interpretation to contemporary culture, a movement which will extend it from the museums to the university curriculum. Perhaps we have already seen this movement in operation, especially in its growing competition with sociology—a competition in which it is not a little facilitated administratively by its closer resemblance to the older "earth" sciences and by the fact that it does not so easily lend itself to the production of socially disturbing data and theories. The author does not appear to give much attention to the European phases of his subject and his failure to connect his discussion of subject matter with the names of the workers who are responsible for the newer trends deprives the reader of much of the value of the presentation of his subject.

This same omission of the names of the contributors to the science characterizes and mars Gault's essay on what we may (although the author does not) characterize as social psychology. Unlike Wissler, Gault presents a bibliography at the end of his section, but this bibliography contains only 13 titles. Only three social

psychologies—those of Allport, Gault and McDougall—are included. Eight of the 13 titles bear such names as Boas, Cattell, Goddard, Terman and Whipple. Stoddard's *The World of Islam* is included, while many fundamental works in the field of social psychology are omitted. Nearly two pages, first and last, are devoted to the discussion of Thomas' four wishes, but Thomas' name does not appear. The viewpoint of the paper is stated in terms very similar to those used by Allport in characterizing the field of social psychology, but Allport is not referred to in this connection. The only citation to the discussion of instinct is a paper by Dunlap. Apparently, much of the material of his paper is drawn from Gault's own *Social Psychology* and some of it bears earmarks that seem to characterize it as of the war period. His paper takes the form of an essay on the two-fold subject of factors contributing to social unity and coöperation on the one hand and of related factors contributing to social progress on the other hand. It can scarcely be called a review of recent progress in social psychology. In developing his theme he has occasion to discuss primarily such subjects as human nature, intelligence levels, feeble-mindedness, mental disorders, de-

linquency, occupational levels, character traits, insanity, social unrest, leaders, racial differences, progress, etc. The paper is not without some merit in its place, but it is difficult to understand how the editor could have regarded it as an adequate contribution to his undertaking.

The other papers, although of less interest to readers of *SOCIAL FORCES*, are better done. With the partial exception of Merriam's all-too-brief paper (21 pp.), they give recognition to the producers of the recent contributions as well as to the contributions themselves. The chapter on Cultural Geography should be of considerable interest to sociologists, because of the approach of geography toward what some sociologists have called "human ecology." The chapters on economics and history are long—almost one hundred pages each. They are also valuable. In some respects Barnes' chapter may be regarded as the most ably presented of the volume.

In conclusion, it may be said that even if the present volume does not come wholly up to expectations in all details, it will nevertheless serve as a useful basis for discussion and afford points of departure for future essays in the same direction.

RURAL PROBLEMS

BRUCE MELVIN

THE GREEN RISING. By W. B. Bizzell. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1926. 269 pp.

FARMERS OF FORTY CENTURIES. By F. H. King. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 379 pp.

PRINCIPLES OF RURAL SOCIOLOGY. By Gustav A. Lundquist and Thomas Nixon Carver. New York: Ginn and Co., 1927. Pp. vii + 484.

The Green Rising is an historical and contemporaneous synthetic study or survey of agrarianism. The modern movements for

economic betterment among farmers of the United States are placed in their historical setting along with the reforms of the Gracchi of Ancient Rome and the Peasant Revolt of the Middle Ages, and are given an examination in a suggested comparison with the recent changes in the land systems of Europe and Mexico. The discussions carry a tone of the scientific, but are written by an interested author

who has removed the present unrest from its immediate personalities, and viewed it as a great and inevitable movement of the socio-economic process.

Agricultural movements have not all been alike; in Europe and Mexico the people desired land, those in the United States, from Revolutionary times to the present decade have been motivated by the desire for higher prices with one or two exceptions. It is an interesting fact, and one of the exceptions, that the slogan of Revolutionary days, "No taxation without representation grew out of the quit-rent system of that period. As this slogan suggests, the land system that arose out of the colonial period was the basis of the later agricultural movements, though the farmers in the midst of the movements desired better prices.

The granting of land through the series of acts by Congress developed a nation of independent farmers with traditions and beliefs that caused resentment when apparently unjust conditions arose following the Civil War and the World War. This agrarian discontent permeates our nation's history, being behind the doctrine of nullification which South Carolina preached before the Civil War as well as the Non-partisan League debacle of recent date.

Economic predicaments of the farmers have found expressions in political phenomena which explain the Grange, Farmer's Alliance, the Populist Movement and others. Yet since 1920 an economic means has evolved along with certain political manifestations, whereby the economic conditions are being met; this method is coöperation.

With this whole survey the present handicaps and injustices in the agricultural situation are not neglected; they are prevalent, serious and menacing, yet no national policy has been created to cope

with them. The author does not specifically state but leaves an inference that the developing of a national policy to cope with the agricultural situation, is most pertinent for the good of American life in the immediate future.

Farmers of Forty Centuries is an unique description of rural life as found in Japan, Korea and China. "It is the writing of a well-trained observer who went forth not to find diversion or to depict scenery and common wonders, but to study the actual conditions of life of agricultural peoples," says L. H. Bailey in his preface, and this statement offers the key to an understanding and appreciation of the work.

The author being a specialist in soils studied the methods by which these Orientals could remain agricultural people and maintain soil fertility for century after century and at the same time support a compact population whose density runs as high as 3700 per square mile. To the American it seems incredible that 500,000,000 persons could live almost directly from the products of the soil on an area smaller than the improved farming land in the United States, yet this situation prevails. The summary answer to these suggested problems is that nothing is wasted. Canal mud is used for fertilizer; animal manure and human excreta are made into compost and spread over the land; the roots, leaves, twigs, in fact everything is conserved and even angle worms protected.

Likewise intensity in farming has been developed to the maximum. Rotation of crops is a highly evolved practice; the production of legumes for maintaining soil fertilizer has been known for centuries, and the raising of different crops on the same field the same years are generally in vogue.

The book is more, however, than a description of the conservation of the soil;

it is a good interpretation of the influence of the soil on human living. Indeed, it pictures all of life. The habits of the people, the standards of life, and the home industries connected with methods of living reflect the work involved in raising the great volumes of rice, silk, and tea besides the numerous other products peculiarly oriental.

Though these data were gathered and the book written some years ago the reading of it helps toward an understanding of the present chaos in China. Customs, mores, and methods of living are portrayed along with the intensity of life.

The numerous details which characterize the thinking and writing of a scientist detract somewhat from the pleasurable reading of this writing, but they do not lessen the valuableness of its contribution. This setting, along with many particular characteristics of a great rural culture are given, and any one vitally interested in a culture with its physical bases can find valuable material in this source.

Of writing in rural sociology at the present time there is much; the productions vary according to the experience and particular desires of the authors rather than through the more general scientific need of the discovery of sociological principles and laws. Thus the book on *Principles of Rural Sociology* by Lundquist and Carver

is a "study that concerns itself with the social problems of rural people."

The handling of the material in this volume reflects the interests of the authors in solving the needs and problems of farm life today. The book apparently has grown out of teaching experience and gives much that heretofore was presented by lectures in the class room. The principal topics covered are "Under all—the Land," "Over all—the People," "How Rural People Think," "How Rural People Feel," "Rural Standards of Living" and other similar problems on the home, education, politics, government, etc.

The data presented are not original, but are compiled, the whole publication being a synthesizing of material already published. The chapters are really after the series of essays, which is not at all peculiar in the field of rural sociology, rather than a book of science. In fact the presentation is interestingly done and being read by a student who might just be coming into the field of rural sociology would create an interest in the subject. It ranks midway between a high school and college text; and could well find its place in the hands of advanced high school students or sophomores in college beginning a study of rural social problems without certain prerequisite courses in general sociology and economics.

ANALYZING THE SPECTRUM OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PHILLIPS BRADLEY

WORLD MISSIONARY ATLAS. Edited by Harlan P. Beach. Maps by John Bartholomew. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1925. 251 pp. \$10.00.

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, 1914. By Arnold J. Toynbee. New York: Oxford University Press, 1926. xiv. + 528 pp. \$7.50.

OIL IMPERIALISM. By Louis Fischer. New York: International Publishers, 1926. 256 pp. \$2.50.

THE MIGRATION OF BRITISH CAPITAL TO 1875. By Leland Hamilton Jenks. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927. viii + 442 pp.

BUSINESS ANNALS. By Willard Long Thorp. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc., 1926. 380 pp. \$4.00.

MIGRATION AND BUSINESS CYCLES. By Harry Jerome. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, Inc. 1926. 256 pp. \$3.50.

- MARKETS OF THE UNITED STATES. Edited by W. C. Plummer and Charles P. White. *The Annals*, Vol. CXXVII, September, 1926. vi + 203 pp. \$2.00.
- THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF MISSIONS. Special Africa Number. Vol. XV, No. 59, July, 1926. 153 pp. \$1.25.
- THE CHRISTIAN MISSION IN AFRICA. By Edwin W. Smith. New York: The International Missionary Council, 1926. viii + 192 pp. \$1.50.
- THE THIRD BRITISH EMPIRE. By Alfred Zimmern. New York: Oxford University Press, 1926. 148 pp. \$2.00.
- ASIA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By Alexander Frederick Whyte. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. 184 pp. \$1.75.
- INTERNATIONAL RIVALRIES IN MANCHURIA, 1689-1922. By Paul Hibbert Clyde. Columbus, Ohio: The Ohio State University Press, 1926. x + 217 pp. \$2.00.
- INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND RELATIONS. Edited by James T. Shotwell, Samuel McC. Lindsay and Parker T. Moon. Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science. New York: The Academy of Political Science, 1926. xxvii + 500 pp. \$2.00.
- THE UNITED STATES IN RELATION TO THE EUROPEAN SITUATION. *The Annals*, Vol. CXXVI, July, 1926. v + 177 pp. \$2.00.
- WAR—CAUSE AND CURE. Compiled by Julia E. Johnsen. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1926. lxiv + 350 pp. \$2.40.
- MILITARY TRAINING COMPULSORY IN SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES. Compiled by Lamar T. Beman. New York: The H. W. Wilson Company, 1926. 161 pp. \$90.

The range and complexity of international relations, which a few years ago relegated their discussion and analysis to the realm of history, no longer deter students and statesmen from dissecting their characteristics upon the contemporary stage. Hardly do we need to wait for the ink to dry upon the signatures of foreign ministers, upon treaties and agreements, before we see the drama of diplomacy upon the silver screen, and within a year or two we can expect first rate commentaries upon the platforms and policies of political and economic leaders. Meanwhile the long-range significance of events is being rapidly brought down to date and

made available in the varied and special aspects of this absorbingly complex field.

The best approach to an understanding of international relations is no doubt through a grasp of the geographical conditions which underlie all the other aspects of world affairs. *The World Missionary Atlas*, the fourth in a series of a similar kind, is at once a fine example of the best modern cartography and an excellent summary of the status of Christian missions the world around. A series of general maps indicates racial distribution, climatic conditions, altitudes and products of the various countries together with information on the location of mission stations of the various societies. An elaborate series of tables analyzes the staff and material of the various missions by location and function, and the organization of the church at home for foreign work is included. The volume is concluded by general descriptive notes of the countries of the world indicating racial and political features together with education, literacy and other special features of interest. It is a book well-nigh indispensable to an understanding of Christian missions today and their interlocking organization for carrying out the manifold activities that go to make modern missionary enterprise.

Mr. Toynbee's *Survey*, the second in an annual series, bids fair to be the most significant analysis of contemporary international relations available. His first volume, which like this one aims to bring the account of international events in political, economic and social relations down to date from where that account was left by the *History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, includes a discussion of Security and Disarmament, the Movement of Population, the Third International and the Soviet Republic, as well as a detailed analysis of important events in Europe and Africa. Mr. Toynbee discusses with ad-

mirable clarity the tangled web of events and manages, more successfully than any of his predecessors in this attempt, to bring out the significant tendencies against the background of diplomacy and economics. His account moves easily and logically, including in the text relevant portions of important documents, and with complete reference material to sources for all statements of fact or opinion which he makes. It is a brilliant achievement in a comprehensive survey of contemporary events, informed by a lively sense of the historical implications of the incidents discussed. Certainly no account is so accurate and complete as this, which combines the contemporaneity of journalism with the thoroughness of the best historical tradition. The 1925 volume will cover the hitherto neglected aspects of post-war relations, after which the annual survey will treat international affairs from a geographical point of view. While criticisms may be levelled at the balance of attention paid to particular events, Mr. Toynbee's use of sources is eminently fair and augurs well for the authoritativeness and reliability of the series.

Mr. Fischer's *Oil Imperialism* is the latest of the refinements of the theory that oil lies at the root of all evil in diplomacy. The book centers around the conflict of American and British interests at the Geneva Conference and the struggle to gain control of Russian resources. Mr. Fischer writes not impartially, but with an unusual grasp of the significance of the Geneva Conference and a not unnatural delight in exposing the duplicities and perplexities of oleaginous diplomacy. Until more adequate access to official sources is possible, Mr. Fischer's account will stand as an important study of one of the most important aspects of the international economic relations.

Professor Jenks' *The Migration of British*

Capital is the first comprehensive survey of the early cycle of capital export in Great Britain. No feature of our international relations today is causing more discussion than the problem of our own loans. Great Britain was first in this field and developed the technic of dollar diplomacy before that phrase was coined. Both the mechanism and the results of the flight of British capital overseas are here discussed in the light of contemporary accounts, company prospectuses and diplomatic exchanges.

The two volumes of the National Bureau of Economic Research mark a new approach to the analysis of economic internationalism. Professor Thorp's *Business Annals* is a comparative study of the course of business cycles in seventeen countries since 1890 (some for nearly a century) in an attempt to discover how closely conditions in one country are reflected in another. "It has long been recognized that the great financial crises have an international sweep. . . . To these familiar facts our annals add that all five countries had mild recessions in 1882-84. Of the 17 countries included in the annals after 1890, 10 had recessions in 1890-91, 15 had recessions in 1900-01, 15 in 1907-08, 12 in 1912-13, 11 in 1918, and 14 in 1920. Further, the countries which escaped a share in these world reactions usually owed their exemption to still worse fortune. . . . The three countries of our 17 which escaped in 1920 were Germany, Austria and Russia." The author believes that "the *Annals* reveal a secular trend toward territorial expansion of business relations and a concomitant trend toward economic unity. . . . The network of business relations has been growing closer and firmer at the same time that it has been stretching over wider areas."

Professor Jerome's *Migration and Business*

Cycles is an attempt to discover the relation between immigration into the United States and unemployment conditions. He concludes that "migration is probably not a primary cause of variations in unemployment, and that in some instances it is an ameliorative influence" (by the excess of emigration in hard times). The lag between employment and fluctuations in migration has proved in most cases to be from one to five months. But as he points out conditions are likely to be good or bad at the same time in both countries of migration and therefore these seasonal shifts of population not infrequently leave the immigrant no better off for his pains. These two volumes are an interesting evidence of the growing emphasis on the detailed analysis of the economics of internationalism—significant pioneering on a new frontier of social control.

In *Markets of the United States* a number of experts in trade problems summarize their views on the future of American exports. A more timely volume could hardly be found to indicate the strategic position which the United States holds in everything from pig-iron to mazda lamps.

If these volumes indicate the range and importance of economic imponderables in international affairs, the no less significant social and political determinants of diplomacy fall within the scope of the African number of the *Review of Missions* and *The Christian Mission in Africa*. Last year there was held an international conference on missionary work in Africa at Le Zoute (Belgium). The papers in both these volumes were prepared for the Conference, or delivered at it, and are perhaps the best contemporary evidence available of native conditions in Africa and the relations of the races. To anyone who still thinks that missionaries are proselyting fanatics and evangelical enthusiasts without contact with the realities of their sur-

roundings and with an impervious unconsciousness of their own fallibility, these volumes will prove an exciting discovery. It would be hard to find a group with a more constructive vision of the future of Africa and the relations of the races than these missionaries who gathered at Le Zoute.

Similarly, Dr. Zimmern has written a most suggestive essay on the future of the British Empire. He finds that the Empire which emerged from the War is a wholly different one from that of 1914. The inevitable trend toward self-government is setting in, ultimate freedom of internal control throughout the lesser units of the Empire, similar to that already achieved by the Dominions, is emerging in various forms. Mr. Zimmern does not look upon this evolution as "a concealed process of disintegration," but rather as a strengthening of the ties which make the British Empire the most successful experiment in imperial government. As the League of Nations found a workable model in the Empire, so the Empire finds the League the guarantee of its integrity.

Sir Alexander Frederick Whyte's *Asia in the Twentieth Century* is the random reflections of a noted British civil servant in India upon the relations of East and West. Sir Frederick was President of the Indian Legislative Assembly and has had a long career in India. He is pessimistic of the possibility of genuine coöperation between Occident and Orient, but he recognizes the contributions which the East can make to western civilization on the spiritual and philosophical sides.

Dr. Clyde's *International Rivalries in Manchuria* is the best survey available of the diplomatic bickerings for that little-known and much-coveted territory. He has used all the sources available in European languages and constructed a compact factual account without attempting to

place emphasis upon particular phases or evaluate events.

A fourth type of approach to international affairs is represented by *International Problems and Relations*. The Academy of Political Science last year brought together a noted group of "experts" from this country and abroad for a conference on a variety of "problems" now facing the world. The points of view and prophecies of these men and women are here brought together under the headings of Disarmament and Security, Raw Materials in Relation to International Peace and Economic Prosperity, The Far East, the Danubian and Balkan States, Economic Adjustments and the French Debt, International Problems of Latin-America, International Coöperation for the Promotion of Public Health and Social Welfare, America's Part in International Coöperation. No more important discussion of international affairs has taken place anywhere in the world in the last several years, and anyone who desires to obtain a first-hand idea of what is doing in this field will find this volume a stimulating introduction to contemporary viewpoints.

An approach to similar problems in a narrower field is to be found in *The United States in Relation to the European Situation*. The authors are all residents of this country but have brought to bear a wide variety of opinion on The Debts, the World Court, Disarmament, Our Relations to Russia, and Capital Investment in Europe. Like other volumes of the *Annals* it serves a most useful purpose in summarizing current opinion on matters of immediate importance. The important positions, official and unofficial, of the authors warrants the authority of their views.

Of all the major issues of international politics today that of preventing the next war ranks first. Miss Johnsen has made

a noteworthy contribution to the literature of war and peace in her Handbook Series volume *War—Cause and Cure*. She gives both sides their say and does not favor any particular formula for making the world safe. The bibliographical material is unusually helpful; it would be hard to find a more valuable book to add to the armament of peace seekers. Those who do not know Mark Twain's "War Prayer" should turn to page 115 before discussing the ethics of war.

Military Training in Schools and Colleges is similarly treated, pro and con, in the Reference Shelf pamphlet compiled by Mr. Beman. There is one important omission, the study by Winthrop D. Lane of Military Training in the United States, which is perhaps the most important contribution to the subject. It is a question of the first importance—a challenge to true patriots as well as the patrioteers.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. VOLUME I: FROM HOMER TO OMAR KHAYYAM. By George Sarton. Baltimore: The Williams & Wilkins Co., 1927. xii + 839 pp. \$10.00.

One of the most fruitful and without doubt one of the most neglected phases of the so-called "new history" is the history of science. The importance of the subject has been insisted upon by leading intellects from Bacon, Turgot, Condorcet, Comte and Whewell down to our own day, yet it has been overlooked by the great majority of both historians and natural scientists. Among those who have in our generation devoted themselves to the effort to give the subject its proper emphasis and to provide facilities for its systematic and scholarly pursuit there can be no doubt whatever that first place must be assigned to the Belgian savant, George Sarton, now working at Harvard University as an Associate in the History of Science of the Carnegie Institution of

Washington. As the founder and editor of *Isis* he has launched the only great international journal devoted to the history of science, and he has been the leading figure in promoting international coöperation and interest in the subject.

The present volume is the first installment of a gigantic work of reference which he has been engaged in compiling during the last quarter of a century, work having been in part interrupted for some six years by the Great War. It is one of those works which actually merit the well-worn adjectives: "monumental" and "exhaustive." It is not a running narrative or a clear textbook summary of outstanding developments, but a most detailed and comprehensive treatment of everything relating to the history of science down to the height of the medieval period. It includes a history of the leading branches of science in each period, a summary of the

leading writers and their contributions, their main works, the best editions of the source-material, and a survey of the more important monographic literature on the writers and their contributions which has been produced in modern times. It is an invaluable contribution which enormously increases the volume and accuracy of information in this field that is accessible to the general run of educated readers and students. Historians and scientists alike will be in the author's debt for generations. Scientists are likely to recognize the value of the book at once, and in another quarter of a century the historians may come to regard it with as much reverence as they now do the solemn tomes of Wattenbach, Potthast and Molinier.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Smith College.

SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY

L. L. BERNARD

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE SOCIAL ORDER: AN INTRODUCTION TO ETHICS AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY. By Joseph A. Leighton. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926. Pp. xx + 578.

THE EVOLUTION OF VALUES. By C. Bouglé (translated by Helen Stalker Sellars, with an introduction by R. W. Sellars). New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926. Pp. xxvii + 277.

Professor Leighton has presented a very readable book, but it is of the textbook order rather than a treatise. Its 47 chapters run the gamut from the scope of ethics and social philosophy to religion and the community. Necessarily it touches lightly upon a vast number of important themes, and the tenor of its discourse is that of easy conversational presentation (after the manner of an interesting class lecturer, as the author doubtless is) rather than of a close and funda-

mental analysis. The viewpoint of the book is, in the main, excellent. Ethics is seen as a problem of the individual's adaptation to society, but the treatment is more from the standpoint of social philosophy than from that of social science. It is interesting to note that the author combines both "ethics" and "social philosophy" in the same title. The psychological and the biological bases of ethics are not neglected; neither are they treated with any considerable profundity.

The approach to ethics is from the standpoint of custom and institutions. Ethical systems from Socrates to the present are reviewed. The ethical outlook is reduced finally to a contrast of the Greek and Christian ideals, out of which emerges the doctrine of humanism, which is the new ethical religion of humanity. This

is the key to his system. More than 200 pages are given over to the application of this viewpoint to the more fundamental social problems of today, especially to progress, justice, government, industry, distribution, collectivism, coöperation, democracy, education, religion. These chapters are not profound, but they are good material as an introduction to the subject. The author is still hopeful about democracy, although he sees its perils. He does not take much stock in biological limitations, but rather emphasizes the cultural controls. Perhaps he does not see sufficiently clearly the limitations, other than inherited, upon the cultural absorbing powers of the individual. Curiously enough he appears to accept the instinct theory, while at the same time he largely repudiates inherited limitations. But such is the delightful disregard of logic even in the soul of the logicians! This book can be safely recommended to all disciples of the mores who may desire to go a step further in their social education without the pains of traveling over stony roads. The minor inconsistencies probably will not trouble them.

Bouglé's book is a symptom and a promise, not a realization. It may charm

the soul of a philosopher, but it can scarcely provide a full intellectual repast for a sociologist. It is a symptom, because it gives expression to the new demand, after the war, for a moralized world. Technique, efficiency are not enough. We must know what things are good for: and we must discover—perhaps reinstate—other values than the merely economic, or even the political. It is a promise, because there is some attempt to sketch the outlines of a social philosophy built on values—values of personality, social values, institutions as the conservator of values. Science, esthetics, and religion are marshalled before the intellectual eye as systems of value determiners and value criteria. But it is all very vague and general. It is neo-Hegelian, personificatory, and more or less over-soulful. It is the form of things hoped for, rather than the substance of things seen. But it is worth reading, and to some sociological genius with a concrete mind that can transmute metaphors into realities it may suggest the writing of a book which will justify Bouglé's insight into the fact that we must evaluate behavior and institutions as well as goods and market securities.

MOBILITY AND DIFFERENTIATION

FRANK H. HANKINS

SOCIAL MOBILITY. By Pitirim Sorokin. New York Harper and Brothers, 1927. xvii + 559 pp. \$3.75.

SOCIAL DIFFERENTIATION. By C. C. North. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1926. ix + 343 pp. \$2.50.

These two books are concerned with somewhat similar problems, namely, the differences in the social status of individuals and the extent to which social stratification is based on innate individual differences or on social privilege. For the

most part North's book may be viewed as a study in the statics of social differentiation while Sorokin's attempts the immensely more difficult study of the dynamics. The former begins with an analysis of differences in terms of function, rank, culture and interest and with the differential effects of age, sex, race and individual differences in determining social status. He proceeds to a study of social conditions favoring class differences and the significance of such differences for

progress and democracy. Its material and views will be already familiar to many but he has brought them together in useful and suggestive form.

Sorokin, on the other hand, is not interested in "preaching," nor concerned over the future of democracy, to say nothing of mankind in general. He starts with careful definitions and a very suggestive study of the fluctuations of social stratification in economic, political and occupational terms. He proceeds with a discussion of the forms, channels and mechanisms of social mobility and social selection, their causes and effects and exemplification in present-day society. It is an unsurpassed study of the up and down movement of individuals in the social system with all the whys, wherefores and implications. At no time does the interest flag, nor is there introduced irrelevant or slightly relevant matter; and every step in his analysis is clean-cut.

There are numerous characteristic differences in the viewpoints of these authors. The basic one is that North leans toward emphasis on environmental factors while Sorokin leans toward emphasis on innate differences. Thus North, while admitting that individuals with superior endowments break through the barriers of caste and class, nevertheless insists that social stratification is overwhelmingly a matter of historical right and privilege, whereas Sorokin, while recognizing that customary rights and artificial barriers and distinctions have some effect, is primarily concerned to show that at all times and places, in all cultures, except during periods of revolutionary upheaval, upper classes have on the average contained better blood than the lower. Paradoxical as it may seem both authors are essentially right. There is, however, a much wider sweep of both imagination and material in Sorokin's study since he takes

into account the relative mobility within different types of social organization. In the light of his evidence there is strong presumption that the differences in the hereditary quality of upper and lower classes in our own society are greater than in some societies where a more obvious system of class rights and privileges prevail. Moreover, his data throw great doubt on North's major thesis, if one may presume to give his book such, that "Social rank and function have, during the greater part of the historical period of human society, been chiefly determined by privilege."

But Sorokin seems a bit obsessed with the idea that there is no general trend from early civilizations through our own. He seems constantly concerned to prove that there is no "perpetual" trend. It would hardly be expected that the rise and fall of cultures should be accompanied by an unceasing trend of social stratification or individual differentiation in some definite direction. On the other hand, it might not be useless to search for some uniformities in the trends of social stratification and mobility, as regards number of grades or general "profile" so long as a civilization is on the up-grade and certain trends that then set in and accompany the decline. Moreover, he continually tests this question of trends by comparing countries in quite different stages of social evolution, as England, Finland and Russia (p. 127). But these are slight criticisms in comparison with the vast amount of erudition, critical insight, logical solidity and translucent objectivity of the author. In fact, this book seems to the reviewer the most substantial contribution to a genuinely objective sociology which has been published in many a day. If some architectonic genius could combine this type of study with a convincing theory of the steps in the rise and decline of a culture

wave we should be well on toward a scientific sociology, a sociology quite free from all uplift complexes and unencumbered with wishful thinking and pious ideologies.

THE PULSE OF PROGRESS. By Ellsworth Huntington.
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1926. Pp. ix
+ 341. \$5.00.

Ellsworth Huntington has done excellent work in social geography, which is all the more reason for deploring some of his output in this volume, especially that in Chapters III and IV, on Migrations in the United States and the Sifting Power of Cities. The present volume is a sort of synthesis of the conclusions set forth in his many previous volumes; but it is more than a synthesis, for it has several chapters at the end on Hebrew history as an illustration of his geographic theories. His thesis is that physical environment and heredity ultimately determine all history and social institutions. Perhaps no one who has learned to trace causes in history back of written documents or who sees that even the mores themselves must be explained would pick a quarrel with this general proposition. Nor does his presentation lack interest and vigor of style. One can always read Huntington with pleasure as far as his literary qualities are concerned. But, in this volume at least, his logic is not on a parity with his style, nor has the personal equation been properly minimized.

Chapter II, on the Handicap of Poor Land, shows that there is a selection of intelligence and enterprise among farmers according to the soil qualities and that this selection extends to the immigrants. Chapter III supports the contention that "the region from which migration takes place will ultimately be relatively strong in the fields of agriculture, government, law, and journalism; the region toward

which migration is directed will contain an especially large proportion of competent engineers, scientists, educators, and religious leaders" (p. 45). He believes that such differences in aptitude are the result of biological as well as of social selection and that these supposed differences in inheritance will perpetuate themselves indefinitely. In this chapter also he contends that *Who's Who* gives us a pretty good index to the most desirable sources of immigration. He has a table showing that the English-speaking immigrants, particularly the Canadians, show a vast excess of ability over the non-English speaking peoples. The Canadian immigrants even exceed our native born in achievement. "In every line except government they distinctly surpass the rest of us; in religion, education, music and medicine they produce three or four times as many leaders as do the native white Americans" (p. 48). English and Australian immigrants also show a higher index of distinction (112 and 242 respectively as against our own 100, and 140 for Canadian immigrants, excluding the French Canadians). The basis of his error of interpretation is so simple as to be almost ludicrous. He uses the 1924-25 *Who's Who*, which includes the large number of university professors, distinguished preachers and artists of various classes who came to this country to escape post war depression. Our immigration restrictions upon manual laborers prevented a similar inrush from the foreign laboring classes; hence the relative excess of the *Who's Who* type of immigrants. If the non-English speaking intellectual classes fail to show up equally well, is it not due in part to our prejudices against them and even more to the fact of the language bar to success in the above named occupations?

In Chapter IV he argues, somewhat

trately, that the cities are drawing off the biologically able from the land and leaving our agricultural regions to a race of hereditary dullards and to those who are inherently conservative (p. 54). "Only in rare cases does one find many strong, forceful farmers like John Coolidge, father of the President" (p. 57). He believes that the greater success of the cities in filling up *Who's Who* is due to the superior inheritance of the city dwellers. He ignores, if indeed he sees, the strong factors of superior concentration and organization of opportunity in the city, which is undoubtedly in part independent of differences in ability, and the fact that the present-day standard of *Who's Who* success is a city standard.

These are the foundation principles of his argument and they are applied throughout the volume. Other chapters on the Dominance of Nomads, What the Weather Does to Us, Civilization and Climate Today, Climatic Changes, Climate and History, Climate and Temperament, and the Evolution of Racial Character, are generally much more sound as to factual content, but they are largely so manipulated as to lay the foundations for his conclusions in the last chapters, to the effect that present-day civilization is primarily a product of biological selection and that future civilization is menaced by certain dysgenic factors in selection. He takes the rigorous biological selection of the Jews under a desert environment as the supreme example of favorable selection or the survival of the fittest for civilization. But even the Jews were finally destroyed by wars which killed off their intellectual élite so carefully built up during previous centuries. Bolshevism is the menace of the future—an unreasoning democracy which, in its struggle for an unnatural equality, threatens to wipe out the élite of the earth. He has, to illus-

trate this point, an almost lachrymose chapter on "The Suicide of Russia," which contains some personal incidents which are far from convincing from the standpoint of arguments, however satisfying they may have been from the standpoint of emotion. Some light may also be thrown upon his high appraisal of Jewish civilization by the fact that he worked up the chapters dealing with this theme as a result of having been asked to prepare some lectures for Sunday School teachers. In the last chapter, on the Centers of Power, he argues—I think unsoundly—that the tropics can never be great centers of civilization for the white man.

The reviewer regrets that limitations of space have made this analysis so largely critical. There are many excellent, even brilliant, things in the book; and it is to be hoped that Mr. Huntington will dabble less in biological philosophy, where so obviously he is not at home, and go back to geography, in which field few are so capable. It would be interesting to know what has transformed him from a geographer to a racialist of so nearly the De Gobineau type. Perhaps the cure for his ailment should be sought in large doses of sociology.

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SOCIAL PROGRESS. By Ulysses G. Weatherly. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1926. 388 pp. \$3.00.

This book is neither a review of literature nor a systematic treatise of the causes, stages and perils of progress. And yet, after its own manner, it manages to set forth the views of many great minds on all these themes. It should make an excellent text, largely because it is so different in style from most. One can read it with pleasure and a gentle intellectual stimu-

lation,—and not to be interrupted every other paragraph with one of those heavy-headed headings put in to keep the simple-minded morons who now flock to our institutions of higher learning on the trail of the thought. It seems more like a book of essays than a text. It is neither shallowly journalistic nor forbiddingly scholastic in tone, but smooth in diction, mellow in temper and sagacious in thought. On nearly every page are quotable aphorisms and generalizations; and, for the most part, such as one can accept without too much qualification.

Of course the book has other qualities which harmonize with these merits. There is little that stands out boldly to set one's mind revolving as from a vigorous punch. The author has no world-saving recipe to sell. In fact, in the rather striking chapter on "The Pessimist," and elsewhere, one gathers that the author is not

quite sure whether progress in a fully comprehensive sense is possible. Material progress brings ennui and disillusionment, destroys the zest of life, sets up dysgenic processes, and, when swift, is likely to be followed by an equally swift decline. And yet, the last two chapters clearly reveal the author's confidence in the efficacy of effort. But it is not the confidence of the booster, nor of the sentimental philanthropist. It is rather the cautious confidence of the sage who has observed his fellow men and thought through the meaning of scientific determinism for social philosophy. It is a book to be most highly commended. It will doubtless have a wide usefulness within the academic fold; too bad the general public cannot be induced to take it up as a best seller.

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BOOK NOTES

FRANK H. HANKINS

THE FATHER IN PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY. By Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1927. 95 pp. \$1.00.

It has frequently been asserted that primitive man did not understand the relation of the father to offspring, and this assertion has figured largely in theoretical discussions regarding the origins of the family, of the couvade, of exogamy and other primitive institutions. It has remained for Professor Malinowski of the University of London, who spent several years among the Trobriand Islanders, northeast of New Guinea, to set forth in detail the ideas and customs of a people who attribute conception to spiritual agents and yet give the father a social rôle of provider and protector not too dissimilar from that which he occupies in our own

civilization. An extremely interesting little book.

MYTH IN PRIMITIVE PSYCHOLOGY. By Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: W. W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1926. 94 pp. \$1.00.

To begin with the author makes a distinction between myths and such stories as fairy tales, legends and sagas, in that myths are sacred tales. They are not idle imaginings, nor are they symbolic. But, like the Biblical stories of the Creation, the Fall and the Redemption of man in the minds of believers, myths are a straightforward account of what is believed to be profoundly true and with emotional values which function in daily life. "Myth fulfils in primitive culture an indispensable function: it expresses, enhances and codi-

fies belief; it safeguards and enforces morality; it vouches for the efficiency of ritual and contains practical rules for the guidance of man. It is not an idle tale, but a hard-working active force." By thus limiting myths to those stories imbued with the qualities of the sacred, having an intimate connection with the tribal magico-religious potencies, the author clearly demonstrates that they play a constant rôle in social life. They are elemental social forces.

THE IDEA OF SOCIAL JUSTICE. By C. W. Pipkin. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. xvii + 595 pp. \$3.50.

The subtitle of this work describes its scope as "A Study of Legislation and Administration and the Labour Movement in England and France between 1900 and 1926." It is thus virtually two books in one, first, a study of social legislation in England and France and secondly, a study of the labor movement in both countries. Both are obviously closely related and the author, a former Rhodes scholar, has made by all odds the most thorough study of their interrelationships during the past quarter century yet published. His bibliography covers eighteen pages and there is an index. An essential work for study and reference.

TYPES OF MIND AND BODY. By E. Miller. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1927. 95 pp. \$1.00.

A suggestive but far from convincing effort to arrive at a classification of personality types on the basis of physical stigmata. While far from a revival of Lombroso, being imbued throughout with modern psychiatric findings, and while highly suggestive, the book singles out for emphasis extreme types which are all too uncommon to be of much practical use. Moreover, in spite of various bril-

liant suggestions, the author's aim is in the end fundamentally defeated by the extraordinary complexity of human physical and mental characteristics.

SHELL SHOCK AND ITS AFTERMATH. By Norman Fenton. St. Louis: The C. V. Mosby Company, 1926. 173 pp. \$3.00.

Dr. Fenton has made a follow-up study of a large proportion of several thousand shell-shock cases originally passed through Base Hospital 117 in France. It is a very valuable study for the light it throws, not only on the subsequent social adjustment of these men, but also on the psychological problems centering in instinct and emotion. In general, the percentage of those able to carry on had increased from 60.9 in 1919 to 80.8 in 1924-25; the percentage able to work half time had been 17.3 in 1919 but was only 9.8 in 1924-25; and the percentage unable to do any work had diminished from 21.7 to 9.4 during this five years.

STATESMANSHIP OR WAR. By John M. Palmer. Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1927. xvii + 232 pp. \$2.50.

Does preparedness breed war? Or is it a preventive of war? Brigadier-General Palmer thinks both views half right and half wrong. He seeks in this volume a form of military preparedness which shall be in harmony with American traditions, founded in fact on the ideas of Washington; but which shall harmonize with the desire of the majority of the American people in furthering peace.

AN INTRODUCTION TO AMERICAN POLITICS. By Penfield Roberts. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1925. viii + 225 pp. \$2.25.

A brightly written text embodying a brief survey of American politics growing out of the author's experience in teaching a required course at the Massachusetts

Institute of Technology. While it contains nothing new and is far from profound, it should prove useful as a text and for supplementary reading. The last three chapters on the historical, the economic and the psychological interpretations of politics, though very brief, are eminently readable in style and sane in viewpoint.

HOW EUROPE MADE PEACE WITHOUT AMERICA. By Frank H. Simonds. Garden City: Doubleday, Page and Company, 1927. viii + 407 pp. \$5.00.

Every reading American is familiar with the Simonds style, with its newsy tang, and its ingredients of philosophical interpretation and confident prophecy (mostly wrong in the sequel). He has here written the post-war history of Europe from 1919 to the applications of the Locarno Treaty. The universally condemned Versailles Treaty was drawn with American participation, only to be rejected by us and to produce a sense of betrayal and despair throughout Europe. There followed the frequent collapse of governments and a revival of chauvinism. But the League of Nations, the abandoned orphan of American parenthood, became the chief hope of liberal statesmen in Europe and the chief agent for the material and spiritual reconstruction which began with Locarno. As always Simonds writes interestingly, with considerable intimacy of knowledge from personal contacts but with an altogether too confident judgment of men and policies.

THE MODERN DEVELOPMENT OF CITY GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNITED STATES. By E. S. Griffith. 2 vols. Oxford University Press (n. d.). xix + vii + 745 pp. \$14.00.

This pretentious work devotes the entire first volume to an historical account of the development of city government, the next two hundred pages to a discus-

sion of political and economic problems, and the last hundred pages to twenty-five appendices. It is not only scholarly and informing as regards the growth of city problems in the United States and Great Britain, but uniquely valuable for its comparisons of similar and diverse trends in the two countries. As a whole the story is an excellent example of divergent cultural evolution, since the municipalities of the two areas started from somewhat similar political backgrounds and developed into quite different institutions. At the same time, there are not lacking examples also of cultural parallelisms between them. Not only is the study well documented throughout, but the first appendix gives forty pages of references. It is a work for the student, scholar and expert.

IN CHINA. By Abel Bonnard. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1927. viii + 361 pp. \$3.50.

A charming and informing account of a tour of China, especially old China, by a Frenchman who is an ardent Frenchman and Catholic, but gifted with a truly poetical appreciation of the aesthetic and a sympathetic understanding of all that is human. It can be unreservedly recommended both for enjoyable pastime reading and for an intimate view of many aspects of old Chinese life. What light it throws on current ebullitions is incidental.

A HISTORY OF THE PHARAONS. By Arthur Weigall. Vol. 2. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. xv + 424 pp. \$6.00.

This is the second volume in the authoritative history of ancient Egypt by the late Inspector-General of Antiquities of the Egyptian Government. This work is notable for its presentation of a new chronology, which differs in important respects from those of Petrie and Breasted. In spite of this central interest in chron-

ology, the book contains much matter of interest to the general reader, of which the side-lights on the history of Abraham, Jacob and Joseph are not the least. On the whole, however, it is a work for the specialist.

FASCISM. By Giuseppe Prezzolini. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company (n. d.). xv + 201 pp. \$2.50.

This sounds like a plain unvarnished tale of the rise and establishment of Fascism in Italy. At any rate, praise and blame are skillfully intermingled with the story. The extraordinary force and will power of Mussolini's personality are, to be sure, made evident, but the author is by no means certain that the Mussolini régime will prove a blessing. One of the most valuable features to the American reader is the elucidation of differences in the psychology of the Italian people in contrast to Anglo-Saxon peoples as regards religion, individual liberty and democratic institutions. But it is not a penetrating study from the standpoint of the social scientist.

PROCRUSTES OR THE FUTURE OF ENGLISH EDUCATION. By M. Alderton Pink. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. 108 pp. \$1.00.

One is surprised upon reading this little book to find that educational problems and discussion in England are so similar to those in this country. The simple, naïve, and doctrinaire policy of lavish and uniform education for all is giving way to the more complex and difficult policy of suiting the educational training to inherent capabilities. The author discusses, in a manner both pointed and interesting, the difficulties of selection and the probable developments of the future as regards secondary education and the fitting of its products into office, shop and factory.

THE MEANING OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION. By E. D. Martin. New York: W. W. Norton, 1927.

This is a truly splendid book, redolent of a sweetly tolerant humanism, ripe wisdom, learning that contributes to living, divine common sense, and realistic idealism. It is a book about education, but is best described as a book for educators, and few there are who will not profit by reading and pondering its pages.

THE COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT IN SOCIAL WORK. By W. J. Norton. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. xii + 373 pp. \$3.50.

The Secretary of the Detroit Community Fund has here given a thorough and candid history of the rise of coöperation among social agencies and a penetrating analysis of current problems. The entire field is comprehensively and systematically treated in a way that should make this study a guide and mentor for social workers until such time as it is superseded by its inevitable successor. The coöperative movement, enormously stimulated by the "war chest," was sorely needed for the sake of economy, efficiency, wider usefulness, wider support, responsibility of management and professional advancement. If it has only begun, one may remember that, in such a revolutionary movement, the early stages are often the most difficult.

THE DISINHERITED FAMILY. A PLEA FOR DIRECT PROVISION FOR THE COSTS OF CHILD MAINTENANCE THROUGH FAMILY ALLOWANCES. By Eleanor Rathbone. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, third ed., 1927. 345 pp. \$2.50.

This new edition of a work first published in 1924 testifies to considerable interest in the subject of family allowances. The theory of the minimum wage carries with it logically a standardized wage for man and wife, with a suitable supplement for each child. The spread of the idea since 1924 and the new literature relating

to it are reviewed in a new chapter. From this one learns among many other things that the supplementary wage plan has been adopted at the University of London in the payment of salaries. It seems to the reviewer an idea likely to do more good and less harm if limited to the intellectual classes than if applied to the population at large.

THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Jerome Dowd. New York: The Century Company, 1926. xix + 647 pp. \$4.00.

A compendium of useful facts and pertinent opinions on every phase of the Negro's life in America. The author seems over-concerned to present all sides of important questions, though in a book which reads so interestingly and rapidly and deals with so many intangible matters, this is a happy fault. This leads, however, to multitudes of quotations, many of them from authors who can claim little authority, and some of whom are long out of date. The most serious defect seems to be a lack of fresh materials on vital statistics, education, business progress and the recent northern migrations. However, it is an encyclopaedic work of very considerable interest and value.

NEGRO ILLEGITIMACY IN NEW YORK CITY. By Ruth Reed. New York: Columbia University Press, 1926. 136 pp. \$2.25.

An extremely interesting account of 500 cases in New York City studied from all points of view and with certain, though limited, comparisons with other races, times and places. The study is interspersed with actual case records giving point to the discussion and an absorbing human interest to the whole study.

THE LITTLE TOWN. By H. P. Douglass. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. ix + 262 pp.

A reissue of a little book first published in 1919. We now have well-developed texts on rural sociology and on urban sociology and numerous courses on these fields in colleges and universities. The small town falls between the two. But as the author says in his "Preface," "The rural progress cause hangs on the fortunes of the little towns. Their interests need radical redirection countryward. Let the town become rurally-minded and it will tap fresh streams of purpose and find vast re-enforcement for its own struggle." There is some ambiguity in that word "rurally-minded" and the viewpoint as a whole is a bit utopian and evangelical. Nevertheless, it is a book chock-full of intimate knowledge, practical suggestions, and social optimism. The next task is to get it read by the people who live in the little towns.

THE PROBLEM OF PRIVATE BENEVOLENCE IN THE MODERN STATE. By Dr. Hensley Henson. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927. 30 pp. \$40.

This is the inaugural lecture on the Sir Charles Lock Foundation and is by the Lord Bishop of Durham. It is a very suggestive paper, revealing the dangers both of private and of public charity and philanthropy. The Bishop speaks smoothly but he is no respecter of persons and not deluded by appearances. He points to the dangers of the benevolence of wealthy patrons of education and religion; emphasizes the secularization of religious and charitable activities in modern times, and the demoralization of character resulting from the widespread resort to doles and assistance by the democratic state. He still sees a place for the

saving grace of the personal touch which accompanies private charity, but makes it plain that scientific charity has not yet fully arrived.

POPULATION PROBLEMS OF THE AGE OF MALTHUS. By G. Talbot Griffith. London: The Cambridge University Press, 1926. 276 pp. 12s. 6d.

A painstaking and scholarly study, the primary purpose of which is to show that Malthus put the emphasis on the wrong phenomenon when he emphasized the birth rate. The author shows that it was the decrease in the death rate which was chiefly responsible for the extraordinary increase in the population after 1760. There are, various other interesting points regarding social conditions in relation to marriage, birth, and death rates.

CITY HEALTH ADMINISTRATION. By Carl E. McCombs, M.D. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. x + 524 pp. \$5.50.

A complete technical discussion of the health functions of a modern city and their organization and administration from the standpoints of both prevention and treatment by the expert investigator of the New York Bureau of Municipal Research and the National Institute of Public Administration.

HISTORY OF THE SCIENCES IN GRECO-ROMAN ANTIQUITY. By Arnold Reymond. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company (n.d.). x + 245 pp. \$2.50.

This translation of a French work is limited to an account of the achievements of the Greeks and Romans in mathematics, astronomy, physics, mechanics, geography, medicine and related fields. It is an important addition to our knowledge of Greek learning. One is astonished at their anticipations of modern findings and almost amazed that they did not go a few steps farther.

MARVELS OF MODERN MECHANICS. By Harold T. Wilkins. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. vi + 269 pp. \$3.00.

A popular illustrated account of the achievements and applications of scientific knowledge in a variety of fields: the atom, the bed of the ocean, sun-light, wireless, archaeology, aviation, moving pictures and others.

THE ENGLISH CRAFT GILDS. By Stella Kramer. New York: The Columbia University Press, 1927. xi + 228 pp. \$4.50.

An intimate and painstaking study of the rise and fall of the guilds in England under three topics: The Amalgamation of the English Trades and Handicrafts; The Conflict Between the Trades and Handicrafts; and The End of the English Craft Guilds.

TOOLS AND THE MAN. By Helen D. Lockwood. New York: Columbia University Press, 1927. 244 pp. \$3.00.

A comparative study of the French workingman and the English Chartists in the literature of 1830-1848. An intimate study having undoubted historical value of the reactions of working-class poets to the new industrial conditions of a century ago.

ARTIFEX OR THE FUTURE OF CRAFTSMANSHIP. By John Gloag. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. 111 pp. \$1.00.

One of the Today and Tomorrow series in which much is said about the decline of the handicrafts, the combination of artistic feeling, sound usefulness, appropriate materials and technical skill; and the suggestion is made that we may be entering a new and greater craftsmanship in which the artistic craftsman combines his skill and art with the business acumen and managerial capacities of the capitalist producer.

THE FAMINE IN SOVIET RUSSIA 1919-1923. By H. H. Fisher. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1927. x + 609 pp. \$5.00.

An authoritative account of the greatest relief effort in the world's history in point of numbers affected and difficulties surmounted, told by the official historian of the American Relief Administration. It draws heavily on the archives of the A. R. A. and Russian official sources. In the assessment of causes of the famine it holds an even scale as between the acts of God and the acts of man. Incidentally the book contains also a history of Soviet policies and administration.

DELUSION AND BELIEF. By C. Macfie Campbell. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1926. 79 pp. \$1.50.

This little book, written by an expert in psychiatry but with very little reliance on Freudianism, is of interest to the sociologist because all the way through the relation of individual belief and delusion to the social medium is emphasized. The first half deals with beliefs related to death, to unsatisfied love, to childlessness and to the desire for power. The last two chapters, dealing with beliefs regarding the universe and with certain general problems of mental health of individual and of group, discuss matters of permanent interest to the sociologist. It is pleasant to discover that the psychiatrist is only now taking over viewpoints that have long been familiar to the sociologist; but he has also his own contribution.

TOWARDS THE OPEN. By H. C. Tracy. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1927. xx + 257 pp. \$3.50.

An essay on life, individual and social, which combines numerous wise sayings with a mystical and obscure idealism. The author's ideal of scientific humanism, by which he seems to mean a science and

art of living which preserves the joy and freedom of living, an appreciation of natural beauty, tolerance and respect for individuality, cultivation of the art of thought and various other highly desirable things, is certainly much needed in this age of stereotyped mediocrity. But in its present form his message will reach few who need it most.

MOLE PHILOSOPHY AND OTHER ESSAYS. By C. J. Keyser. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company, 1927. x + 234 pp. \$3.00.

A collection of brief essays on a variety of topics, by a man with a clear intelligence, a sense of humor, and a gift for homely but enlightened philosophy. These pages read easily, rapidly and enjoyably.

SIBYLLA OR THE REVIVAL OF PROPHECY. By C. A. Mace. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1927. Pp. ix + 91. \$1.00.

A book of ingenious and sometimes amusing suggestions of what the future may bring forth in industry, education, religion and social organization.

THE MIND AND ITS MECHANISM. By P. and W. R. Bousfield. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1927. vii + 224 pp. \$4.00.

This is an astounding book. Except for an occasional reference to recent findings in atomic physics and frequent reliance on McDougall's revival of spiritism, it might well have been written by St. Thomas Aquinas. Its first postulate is that there is no connection between the sensory nerves and the cortical area of the brain, and yet the sensory impressions are correlated, unified and given a meaning by something. This something is then postulated to be an "immaterial psychic structure," a sort of ether-like protoplasmic immaterial matter called psychons that fills in the interstices between the

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brain cells. "Ethereic waves" transmit sensory impressions from the nerve endings to the immaterial psychic brain which is the seat of consciousness and of the unifying power of the mind. Thus the conception of mind as a little god, at once spiritual and evanescently material, is preserved. Stuff and nonsense!

DOES PROHIBITION WORK? By Martha B. Bruere. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1927. vii + 329 pp. \$1.50.

At the 1926 meeting of the National Federation of Settlements there was formed a Committee on Prohibition, with Lillian D. Wald of the Henry Street Settlement as Chairman. She admits, almost boasts, that this is not a scientific work, and one wonders whether this is a naive implication that personal impressions are to be rated as of more worth than a scientific study. Be that as it may, the book succeeds in giving an interesting and on the whole informing picture of what is happening under prohibition and to it in all parts of the country. One derives that prohibition is achieving many of its claims in communities inhabited mainly by the old American stock, but that it has met with serious obstacles among recent immigrants.

ARE THE JEWS A RACE? By Karl Kautsky. Trans. from the second German Ed. New York: International Publishers, 1926. 256 pp. \$2.50.

ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE UNITED STATES. By Rabbi L. J. Levinger. New York: Block Publishing Company, Inc., 1925. 120 pp. \$1.00

While Kautsky's earlier chapters, dealing with the general theory of races and race differences, are of little value, his demonstration that the Jews are not a race is thoroughly satisfactory and complete. Having shown the extreme utopianism of the Zionist movement, Kautsky concludes with the speculation that, if the proletarian movement in Russia succeeds in removing all vestiges of civil disabilities from the Jews, there will be an end of Judaism, for there will then be no great mass of Jews subject to that intolerance on which Judaism thrives. But anti-semitism will not pass so easily. As Rabbi Levinger brings out, there are four different movements or so-called "solutions" of the Jewish question—racial assimilation, Zionism, reform, and orthodoxy. None of these promises much. It may be true, as the Rabbi states, that anti-semitism is an expression of the group consciousness of those among whom the Jews live; but it is also a consequence of the race consciousness of the Jews themselves.

BOOK LISTS

(Subsequent reviews of selected volumes)

KATHARINE JOCHER

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION. By Charles E. Martin. New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1926. 440 pp.

The formation of the American constitutional system, its development, and the spirit of the American constitution are

given detailed attention in this book designed for both student and general reader. Brief reading lists are appended to each chapter while constitutional documents of first importance together with other interesting information are found in the appendix.

THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA. Selected and edited by Edna Kenton. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 2 vol. 597 pp., \$79 pp.

These two volumes are composed of data selected from "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791," edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites. "Of the two hundred and thirty-eight documents listed by Thwaites, sixty-eight, in whole or in part, comprise the body of these selections. Extracts from omitted portions of the selected documents, as well as from almost half of the unincluded papers, appear as footnotes." The documents are arranged chronologically.

AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP. By Frederick A. Cleveland. New York: The Ronald Press, 1927. 475 pp. \$4.00.

A gift from George H. Maxwell whose desire it was to develop a body of leaders especially trained in citizenship was largely responsible for this publication which is the first in a series dealing with the subject of citizenship. This book, apparently designed especially for students, presents the subject as defined in the constitutions of the nation and the states, in statutes, the decisions of courts, and the utterances of government officials. The book is arranged in three sections: citizens as members of political society; citizens and aliens as beneficiaries; citizens and aliens as subjects.

THE DREADFUL DECADE. By Don C. Seitz. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926. 312 pp. \$3.50.

Some of the more unusual phases in the history of the United States from reconstruction to the resumption of specie payment—1869 to 1879—are chronicled here. Illustrated.

THE ORIGIN OF THE STATE. By Robert H. Lowie. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 117 pp. \$1.50.

For the students of sociology, political science, and comparative jurisprudence, who are always interested in the government or lack of government of primitive peoples, Professor Lowie has in this publication supplemented his treatment of the subject as it appeared in his *Primitive Society* and in several articles in *The Freeman*.

A HISTORY OF AMERICAN FOREIGN RELATIONS. By Louis M. Sears. New York: Crowell, 1927. 648 pp. \$3.50.

A review of the foreign policies of the United States with no attempt to prophesy for the future but to aid the American citizen as well as the careful student to formulate an intelligent opinion with reference to America's future course of international relations. Chapter bibliographies, a chronological table, and a list of secretaries of state are appended.

STORIES OF EARLY TIMES IN THE GREAT WEST. By Florence Bass. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 203 pp.

A book written for children to aid them to picture vividly what happened to people in those early times. The stories are simply, interestingly, and yet rather fully told. Although few names of places and dates are used, a chronological sequence is followed. Excellent reading for children who have begun the study of geography. The illustrations, too, are very instructive.

CALIFORNIA. By Gertrude Atherton. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 356 pp. \$3.00.

A new edition of Mrs. Atherton's "Intimate History." She says in her preface, "I have striven to be as accurate

as history—never accurate—will permit, while writing an interesting story—or a paradoxical drama—but I have enjoyed the reading of the many authorities as much as my own work, and therefore confidently recommend to Californians, at least, a thorough course in California history."

PARLIAMENT AND WAR. By Francis R. Flournoy. London: P. S. King and Son, 1927. 282 pp. 15s. net.

Should the British democracy seek to obtain a more direct and effective control over the war power? Is Parliament the agency through which such control may best be exercised? These are the questions which this study aims to assist in answering.

STUDIES AND RECORDS. The Norwegian-American Historical Association. Northfield, Minnesota: Author, 1927. 137 pp. \$2.00.

The second volume of this Association contains articles on Norwegian immigration and Norwegian-American cultural history. Of particular interest are the papers on "The Norwegian Pioneer in the Field of American Scholarship" by Laurence M. Larson, and "Norwegian Language and Literature in American Universities" by George T. Flom.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. By Harrison C. Thomas and William A. Hamm. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. 257 pp. \$5.00.

This is the first of a series of three books which will present in a popular manner a survey of humanity's past. The present volume, after an introductory chapter on the purpose and scope of history, begins with the backgrounds of modern civilizations and closes with the American Revolution. There is a concluding chapter on the economic, political, and social conditions of the old régime.

LAW OF THE AIR. By Carl Zollmann. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1927. 286 pp.

It was but natural that the legal regulations of aeronautics should lag far behind the rapid mechanical development brought about by the World War. The Air Commerce Act of 1926, the Radio Act of 1927, and the Uniform State Law of Aeronautics already adopted by ten states and territories, have but recently supplied this lack in the United States, while international law has been fairly well codified by the International Flying Convention of 1919. Airspace rights, governmental control, damage liability, insurance, patent rights, and radio are the topics discussed. The various laws and regulations are appended in full.

HENRY FORD. By J. G. de R. Hamilton. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1927. 322 pp. \$2.00.

Henry Ford—to many the most interesting man in the world—presented to us as a man, a worker, a citizen, and written up in a manner that will be appreciated by everyone especially every man who drives a Ford or Fordson. This is no psycho-analytic study but a life story for self-revelation. Many interesting illustrations are included.

THE WOMEN LINCOLN LOVED. By William E. Barton. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 377 pp. \$5.00.

Dr. Barton's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* has not been forgotten. This new volume presents the life story of Lincoln against a background of the women who influenced his career—mother, step-mother, grandmothers, sister, playmates, sweetheart, and wife. The individual pictures are woven together with a thread of continuity. An attractive volume with interesting illustrations.

"Boss" TWEED. By Denis Tilden Lynch. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 433 pp. \$4.00.

William Marcy Tweed whose name is the symbol of corruption in politics, was the first man upon whom the title of "Boss" was bestowed. Such men as Henry Ward Beecher, James Fisk, Jr., President Grant, and Samuel J. Tilden, and many women, both influential and notorious, are interwoven with Tweed's career. Told in an engrossing manner, this story of "a grim generation" provides interesting as well as profitable reading. There are about a dozen illustrations.

BUFFALO DAYS. By Homer W. Wheeler. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 368 pp. \$4.00.

Colonel Wheeler, Retired, Late Fifth Cavalry, United States Army, has narrated his forty years' experience in the Old West as cattlemen, Indian fighter, and army officer. These tales of adventure are interestingly written, and in addition there are many entertaining photographs.

HANDS UP! By A. B. Macdonald. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 302 pp. \$3.00.

True stories of the six-gun fighters of the old wild west as told by Fred E. Sutton, one of them, and written down by A. B. Macdonald. Excellent reading for one who is looking for romance and thrills.

TRANSITION. By Will Durant. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1927. 352 pp. \$3.00.

A mental autobiography, which tries to show the effect, upon one mind, of the great changes which have come upon the religious faith of the western world. Written in Will Durant's readable and interesting way, the book makes a wide appeal.

THOBBING. By Henshaw Ward. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1926. 343 pp. \$3.50.

"A seat at the circus of the intellect" is the rather unusual subtitle of this volume. "When a person *THinks* without curiosity, has an *Opinion* because he likes it, *Believes* what is handy—then he *THOBS*," and Mr. Ward tells us unflatteringly that this is the prevailing state of the mental life of the human mind.

SCIENCE: THE FALSE MESSIAH. By C. E. Ayres. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. \$3.00.

The author, who has written many editorials and articles for *The New Republic* and has taught philosophy at Brown, Chicago, Amherst, and Reed, has given us, according to John Dewey, "a provoking and arresting book." Science is considered a by-product of invention; there can be no reconciliation between science and religion; and the only science qualified to save the world is pseudo-science. Twenty-three "theses to be nailed to the laboratory door" are appended.

THE SEVEN SEALS OF SCIENCE. By Joseph Mayer. New York and London: Century, 1927. 444 pp. \$3.50.

An outline of the seven great natural sciences—mathematics, astronomy, physics, chemistry, biology, geology, and psychology—their history, development, and correlation, is the task which Professor Mayer set for himself and which has been done in this volume. Under way for many years, the book owes its publication at this time to the "growing impatience of the intelligent layman with those specialists who continue to regard their compartments of knowledge as watertight and self-sufficient." There is a concluding chapter on "Social Science in the Making." There are a number of excellent photographs.

KERNELS OF THE UNIVERSE. By C. B. Bazzoni. New York: Doran, 1927. 189 pp. \$1.25.

Edited by James Harvey Robinson and Daniel Trembly McDougal with John Farrar as Managing Editor, The Humanizing of Knowledge Series of which this is the third volume, plans to present to the average layman great and little understood truths. The present volume is a brief discussion of modern discoveries in regard to the fundamental constitution of things.

THE WAR ON MODERN SCIENCE. By Maynard Shipley. New York: Knopf. 415 pp.

Mr. Shipley has brought his history of the fundamentalist attacks on evolution and modernism down to the end of 1926. Entire chapters are devoted to the situation in Mississippi, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Tennessee, while other states are discussed in groups. Although the belief is held by many that only the United States is thus "benighted," mention is made of episodes similar to the Scopes case in Bottle, Lancashire, and in Jugoslavia. Apparently the fight is world-wide.

EXPLORING THE UNIVERSE. By Henshaw Ward. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 353 pp. \$3.50.

The New York *Herald Tribune* characterized Mr. Ward's *Evolution for John Doe* as "the one and only good book on evolution for the layman." In the present volume the author has again put to good use his ability to interpret science to the layman. He deals largely with discoveries made during the past few years, which have brought about almost a new heaven and new earth.

THE NEXT AGE OF MAN. By Albert Edward Wiggam. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 418 pp.

This book is an extended discussion of an address on "Some Aspects of Eugenics" delivered by the author to the Graduate School of the University of Iowa. Professor Giddings has characterized it as "Mr. Wiggam's best book so far." Whether or not one agrees with the writer, one will find the volume interesting and stimulating from beginning to end.

THE COMING CRISIS. By James R. Kaye. Chicago: Buxton-Westerman, 1927. 128 pp.

Are we approaching the end of the age? This is the question which this little book asks and attempts to answer. The author holds that the Bible definitely teaches a return of Christ in the flesh, that this return will mark the millenium, and that the day of this age is far spent.

TOLERANCE. By Hendrik Van Loon. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 382 pp. \$4.00.

The ninth large edition of this work with an added chapter, 76 illustrations in black and white, and a frontispiece in color has made its appearance.

AMERICA. By Hendrik Van Loon. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 470 pp. \$5.00.

To those who have read Van Loon's earlier works, this latest book needs no introduction. Told in the author's very readable style and attractively illustrated in colors as well as in black and white, this history of our country is said to be the greatest of Van Loon's stories.

CREATION. By Edwin Tenney Brewster. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 294 pp. \$3.50.

Although one may find histories and discussions of the evolutionary hypotheses on every hand, there has not been in recent

years any systematic account of the creationist theory. And yet there are no fewer than five rather incompatible theories of special creation. This volume, therefore, makes an appeal to anyone desiring intelligent information on the creationist side of the seemingly never-ending conflict of Evolution versus Special Creation.

LIFE AND THE STUDENT. By Charles H. Cooley. New York: Knopf, 1927. 274 pp.

Roadside notes on human nature, society, and letters. This unique and valuable piece of work is extremely well done. There are sections on our time, reading and writing, thinking, art, science and sociology, academic, human nature, and larger life. The thinking person, whatever his particular interest, will find this little book quite worthwhile.

INSIDE EXPERIENCE. By Joseph K. Hart. New York: Longmans, Green, 1927. 187 pp. \$2.50.

John Dewey, in his introduction to *Inside Experience*, says, "Dr. Hart's book is welcome as a contribution to the task of revealing the structure of experience, and exhibiting its articulations. One difficulty under which philosophy labors is that in doing its work it can employ only the tools that already exist: words and ideas which have already been so specifically appropriated to particularistic and divisive functions as to make them unfit for their work. The way out, as Dr. Hart so clearly shows, is constant effort, renewed experiment, varied and coöperative approach."

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIOLOGY. Ed. by Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Heath, 1927. 926 pp. \$4.00.

READINGS IN SOCIOLOGY. Ed. by Jerome Davis and Harry Elmer Barnes. New York: Heath, 1927. 1065 pp. \$6.00.

L. L. Bernard, Seba Eldridge, Frank H. Hankins, Ellsworth Huntington, and Mal-

colm M. Willey collaborated with the editors in writing the *Introduction to Sociology* and in compiling the readings which accompany it. The evolution of the great society, the forces shaping society (society and its physical environment, society and its biological equipment, the psychological foundations of society, society and its cultural heritage) social organization, and sociology applied to social problems constitute the main divisions of the discussion. The approach has a behavioristic slant.

THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS. By Hornell Hart. New York: Holt, 1927. 660 pp. \$4.50 (students' edition, \$3.60).

The objective of this book is to make sociology at once fertile, vital, practical—indeed, a science growing out of the daily grist of human relations. It departs from existing texts in that it interprets concrete case materials in harmony with the new psychology and inductive observation, and is a tool to be used and not merely a means of passing an examination. The numerous provocative problems illustrate the text in a unique way. A new volume in the American Social Science Series edited by Howard W. Odum.

THE SOCIAL THEORIES OF L. T. HOBHOUSE. By Hugh Carter. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1927. 137 pp. \$1.50.

As the author says in his preface, "Writing a critical summary of a living scholar's work is a decidedly delicate operation." Mr. Carter's task has been to sift out Mr. Hobhouse's social theories from his mass of philosophical material and to present a resumé and critical appraisal of these theories. He has treated his subject under prehuman adaptation in the evolutionary process, the broad lines of social evolution (law and justice, position of women and marriage, intercommunity relations, class and caste, poverty and riches), the psy-

The ever-increasing interest in the child and his problems assures a welcome for this discussion of the law and practice of the juvenile court which has been characterized by Bernard Flexner as "an extraordinarily good piece of work." It is a critical presentation of the juvenile court in all its more important aspects and should prove an addition to the literature in this

field. The University of North Carolina Social Study Series numbers it among its recent publications.

PROBATION AND DELINQUENCY. By Edwin J. Cooley. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1927. 544 pp. \$3.00.

The Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, New York City, lays down fourteen necessary principles of probation (p. 438). Probation is considered as one part of social work and emphasis is placed upon the necessity of whole-hearted coöperation with all constructive forces of the community.

THE NORTH CAROLINA CHAIN GANG. By Jesse F. Steiner and Roy M. Brown. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 1927. 194 pp. \$1.00.

A scientific consideration of the county chain gang as a penal institution, its early development, methods of organization, problems of administration, the economic aspect of county convict road work, a statistical study of the convict camp population, case histories of typical Negro convicts, and county versus state control of convict road work, are found in this readable little book, which has appeared recently in the University of North Carolina Social Study Series. The research was done under the auspices of the Institute for Research in Social Science at the University of North Carolina.

**THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF PLAY-
GROUNDS AND RECREATION.** By Jay B. Nash. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 547 pp. \$4.00.

Problems of administration receive primary emphasis in this volume and programs of activities are touched upon only when the two are inseparable. Anyone engaged in recreational activities in a modern city should find this study helpful and suggestive. There are interesting illustrations.

FARM YOUTH. Proceedings of the Ninth National Country Life Conference. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 153 pp.

Fourteen addresses and papers, the discussion of the conference, and reports of the American Country Life Association make up these proceedings.

AMERICAN AGRICULTURAL VILLAGES. By Edmund deS. Brunner, Gwendolyn S. Hughes, and Marjorie Patten. New York: Doran, 1927. 326 pp. \$3.50.

One hundred and forty agricultural villages are included in this survey by the Institute of Social and Religious Research. "The services of the village to the surrounding countryside, its economic, social and religious life, and the antagonisms and coöperation existing between the small town and the farm population are among the topics treated."

VILLAGE COMMUNITIES. By Edmund deS. Brunner. New York: Doran, 1927. 244 pp. \$2.25.

A summary of the outstanding results of the village studies made by the Institute of Social and Religious Research and eight case studies of individual agricultural villages recommend this volume as a text for the student in rural sociology as well as a guide for the non-technical reader.

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION IN A RURAL NEW ENGLAND TOWN. By James Lowell Hypes. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927. 102 pp. \$1.50.

A rural town in southern New England was the basis of this study in rural primary group behavior which has been published in the Contributions to Education Series (No. 258). Its purpose is "to measure quantitatively the participation normally taking place in and through the primary groups . . . correlating such participation statistically with a

number of determinative factors that constitute, at least in part, the complex matrix of group phenomena."

FARM INCOME AND FARM LIFE. Prepared by a Joint Committee under the editorship of Dwight Sanderson. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 324 pp. \$3.00.

"A symposium on the relation of the social and economic factors in rural progress," published by means of a grant from the Institute of Social and Religious Research for the American Country Life Association. The questions which this volume attempts to answer are "To what extent is a higher standard of life the result of a better income?" And, "May the desire for the former stimulate greater exertion and efficiency and result in a better income as a means to the end sought?" From the material presented one may conclude that "the final measure of rural progress is found in the better standard of life, both material and spiritual, of the mass of farm people, but that if this is to be permanent it must be based on greater economic efficiency."

DELINQUENT AND NEGLECTED NEGRO CHILDREN. By the Joint Committee on Negro Child Study in New York City. New York: Author, 1927. 48 pp. \$.25.

This study of Negro children brought before the New York City Children's Court in 1925 was made by the Committee in coöperation with the Department of Research of the National Urban League and the Women's City Club of New York. The Negro child and the court, inadequacies in institutional provision for the delinquent and neglected Negro child, the social background of Negro delinquency and neglect cases, and public and private institutions are some of the phases discussed. A number of recommendations are included.

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF REVOLUTION. By Lyford P. Edwards. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 229 pp. \$3.00.

Mr. Edwards concludes that, as far as the United States is concerned, there need be no fear of a violent revolution for at least three generations, since the great majority of the people are satisfied with the existing order. Political democracy and religious democracy have been achieved; can industrial autocracy remain? Can the struggle between capital and labor be worked out or must it be fought out?

THE PUBLIC AND ITS PROBLEMS. By John Dewey. New York: Holt, 1927. 224 pp. \$2.50.

A series of six lectures, revised and expanded, delivered in January 1926 upon the Larwill Foundation of Kenyon College, Ohio, constitutes this little volume. Proceeding on the "basis of the interrelations of observable acts and their results" the author discusses, search for the public, discovery of the state, the democratic state, eclipse of the public, search for the great community, and the problem of method.

IS BRITAIN OVER-POPULATED? By R. B. Kerr. Croydon, Surrey: Author, 1927. 118 pp. 1/-net.

In which the author purposes to show that England is overpopulated.

WHAT THE EMPLOYER THINKS. By J. Davis Houser. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927. 226 pp. \$2.50.

The results of special research done under the Jacob Wertheim Research Fellowship for the Betterment of Industrial Relations. American executives from all parts of the United States were visited, and a year was spent in making personal inquiries. In many instances employes were interviewed, and a second conference with the executive followed. All names

are withheld. The study is discussed in three sections: Executive authority: The employer's mind as revealed in interviews; Executive function: The employer's task and its handling; Executive performance: Stimulation of the employer's sense of responsibility.

INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS IN THE CHICAGO BUILDING TRADES. By Royal E. Montgomery. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927. 340 pp. \$2.00.

The importance of the building-trades union as a part of organized labor has called forth this analysis of its organization and development, certain special problems, and its recent developments. At present there seem to be two alternatives, either a wasteful system of collective bargaining or a partly open shop policy. The author, however, maintains that there are certain forces at work which might well be utilized to bring about a better understanding between capital and labor and the general public, so that one of the two alternatives is not necessarily inevitable.

PROBLEMS, CASES AND QUESTIONS IN ECONOMICS. By Lionel D. Edie and Benjamin P. Whitaker. New York: Crowell. 164 pp.

A manual to accompany *Economics: Principles and Problems*. There are questions and topics for discussion on each chapter and lists of suggested readings.

PROHIBITION AND CHRISTIANITY. By John Erskine. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1927. 319 pp. \$2.50.

Prohibition and christianity are not the only subjects discussed in this little volume, but "other paradoxes of the American spirit," such as our attitude toward the allied debts, our traveling, our education, our clothing, and a host of others, come in for their share of attention. There is quite a bit of wit, as well as wisdom, in the pages.

THE A B C OF PROHIBITION. By Fabian Franklin. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 150 pp. \$1.00.

Mr. Franklin, one of the foremost opponents of the Eighteenth Amendment, holds this amendment to be an invasion of personal liberty for which in this case according to him there is no justification.

PROFESSIONAL CODES. By Benson Y. Landis. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1927. 108 pp.

"This study is offered to educators who are considering the problems involved in the development of professional ethics. It is a sociological analysis of codemaking in the various professional organizations, and aims to reveal how the experience of these groups may be applied to education."

EQUITABLE SOCIETY AND HOW TO CREATE IT. By Warren Edwin Brokaw. New York: Vanguard Press, 1927. 365 pp. \$1.50.

The Equitist League is sponsoring this publication which describes a social system based on a universal labor unit of one dollar per hour. The work is the result of thirty-five years of study and accumulation of material.

THE SOCIAL BASIS OF CONSCIOUSNESS. By Trigant Burrow. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 256 pp. \$4.00.

Harry Elmer Barnes has said of this study in organic psychology based upon a synthetic and societal concept of the neuroses, "I think your book will constitute one of the most valuable contributions which current dynamic psychology has yet made to the subject of sociology and social psychology." A volume in the International Library of Psychology Philosophy and Scientific Method.

MENTAL HYGIENE. By Daniel Wolford La Rue. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 443 pp.

This book is written especially for students in normal schools. It purposes to help the students and teacher understand himself in order that he in turn may be able to understand and direct his pupils. One or more exercises introduce each chapter while class exercises, subjects for further study, topics for special investigation and report, and bibliographical references are appended to each chapter.

PRINCIPLES OF ABNORMAL PSYCHOLOGY. By Edmund S. Conklin. New York: Holt, 1927. 457 pp.

Although this book has been designed primarily for the advanced undergraduate student, it will be found readable and comprehensible to anyone with a background in elementary psychology. It is the result of many years of teaching and research, and is scientific without being unduly technical. The treatment is somewhat different in that the most extreme forms of abnormality are treated first and the borderland phenomena later, a method which Professor Conklin has found conducive to the best results in his classes.

THE RELIGION CALLED BEHAVIORISM. By Louis Berman. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 133 pp. \$1.75.

Dr. Berman has been considered by many a Behaviorist. In this volume he goes on record as not being a behaviorist and gives his reasons why. Among the newer theories he gives much time and attention to the Gestalt movement.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF CHARACTER. By A. A. Roback. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 593 pp. \$5.50.

Another volume in the International Library of Psychology Philosophy and Scientific Method. Only recently has the

medical, analytic, and behaviorist material with reference to character and personality been correlated. Here the new knowledge is collected and linked with its historical background.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF PLAY ACTIVITIES. By Harvey C. Lehman and Paul A. Witty. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 242 pp. \$1.00.

With the ever-increasing opportunity for leisure time comes the increasing demand for wholesome recreation. The authors have investigated play activities and the effect on play behavior of such variables as age, sex, season, intelligence, community, etc.

OUTLINES IN HEALTH EDUCATION FOR WOMEN. By Gertrude Bilhuber and Idabelle Post. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 192 pp. \$2.00.

A teaching outline which will be found helpful as a source book of information to teachers and women students in colleges, normal schools, and universities. The programs follow a continuity of interest, but can easily be rearranged and made suitable for varying conditions.

ON BEING A GIRL. By Jessie E. Gibson. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 326 pp.

To the girls of North Central High School in Spokane, Washington, who made possible this volume through voluntary coöperation, this book is dedicated. The girl in her relation to the community, her family and her friends, as well as a discussion of her personal problems are included. It is hoped that the book will be found helpful by any person or organization interested in girls.

HUMANIZING EDUCATION. By Samuel D. Schmalhausen. New York: Macaulay, 1927. 343 pp.

The main thesis of this volume according to the author is "that critical-minded-

ness spells enlightenment while credulity spells superstition" and that our education lacks Intellectual Honesty. We are still hemmed in by taboo—evasion and concealment are considered the way to the good life; whereas, education brought to maturity, must take cognizance of the newer wisdom and must not shun experience.

INVESTIGATIONS IN THE HYGIENE OF READING. By James Herbert Blackhurst. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1927. 63 pp.

Despite the facts that reading is not a natural activity and that it is of growing importance since it is largely the basis upon which pupils are advanced, very little has yet been done to decrease the mechanical effort involved. The experimental work in this problem was done in grades one to four because of the greater variation in the typography of elementary readers and because the importance of the study make it advisable to delimit the field carefully. The results are summarized under size of type, length of line, leading, and margin.

THE SUPPLEMENTARY READING ASSIGNMENT. By Carter V. Good. Baltimore: Warwick and York, 1927. 227 pp.

There is great variation with regard to parallel reading assignments at all levels of instruction. The conclusions reached in this study are based on investigations made in junior college, high school, and the elementary grades. The results seem to indicate that intensive or textbook reading is relatively effective as measured by the reproduction of ideas but that, on the whole, extensive readers are superior in retention. Generally speaking, extensive reading is of more lasting value and should be encouraged.

SEX DIFFERENCES IN THE GROWTH OF 'AMERICAN SCHOOL CHILDREN. By Edward Andrews Lincoln. Baltimore: Warwick & York, 1927. 189 pp.

Although the results of this study show certain sex differences such as the more rapid physical development of girls over boys, the fact that boys excel over girls in certain subjects although in general girls are superior to boys in classroom work and that provision should be made in the educational system for sex differences, the larger problem is that of providing for individual differences in which there is much greater variability than between the sexes.

AN OUTLINE FOR SELF EDUCATION. By John G. Sims, Jr. Fort Worth, Texas: Author, 1926. 169 pp.

Education is defined by the author in eight laws, the first three of which are discussed in detail for the benefit of the self-educator. These are, first, get the right will, flavor and inspiration; second, learn how to seek; and third, become acquainted with the few old, reliable fundamental facts and principles of life. According to Mr. Sims, the first six grades of school are the all-important ones; after that, the earnest student should be ready for self-education.

AN ATHLETIC PROGRAM. By Leonora Andersen. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 134 pp. \$2.00.

This program is devised for use in elementary schools and is arranged according to seasons. There is definite progression from game to game and a relationship between the day's work and what has gone before. Such a program should encourage team work and prepare the boy and girl to take his and her place in the athletic life of high school and college.

NEW YORK AT SCHOOL. By Josephine Chase. New York: Public Education Association, 1927. 270 pp. \$1.50.

This volume was written primarily to inform the members of the Public Education Association, as well as citizens generally, of the activities and administration of the public schools of New York City. "The aim of the book is to describe the work of the schools in a non-critical way, without any attempt at appraisal, by sketching briefly the origin of the several activities, the way in which they are being carried on, and the objectives which the school authorities have in view."

SPECIAL DAY PAGEANTS. By Marion Kennedy and Katharine Isabel Bemis. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 48 pp.

This book should prove helpful and suggestive to individuals and organizations working with children. Pageants for twenty-one "special" days are given.

THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD. Prepared by The Faculty of Public School 53. New York: A. S. Barnes, 1927. 46 pp. \$2.00.

"A pageant designed to show what the most important nations of the world contributed to civilization. The pageant is based on fact, so that its presentation is not only pleasurable and colorful, but educational as well." Illustrated.

ECONOMIC LIFE AND THE CURRICULUM. By Henry Harap. New York: Macmillan, 1927. 188 pp.

As given in the preface, the purpose of this volume is, "first, to point out certain economic demands on the changing curriculum; second, to discuss the more acceptable curriculum studies in this field; and, third, to relate how the economic activities are establishing themselves in the program of the American school."

A NATION PLAN. By Cyrus Kehr. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1926. 210 pp.

According to the subtitle this study presents a basis for coordinated physical development of the United States of America with a suggestion for a world plan. The MSS was written during the World War and endeavors to point the way to the carrying on of public or civic work. The book is profusely illustrated.

ON LOVE. By Marie-Henri Beyle (De Stendhal) Tr. by H. B. V. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 420 pp. \$2.50.

Boni and Liveright have announced the publication of adequate English translations of the complete works of De Stendhal, one of the most brilliant of the French novelists. *On Love*, which is not a novel, Stendhal himself considered his most important work. His ideal of love is the love between a man and a woman who find their greatest pleasure in living one life.

GOLD, GORE AND GEHENNA. By George A. Birmingham. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill 1927. 306 pp. \$2.00.

George A. Birmingham is at his best in this story of Ireland. As is usual with this novelist, logic and unreason, the aristocrat and the peasant, convention and adventure are brought together, and the result is "a perfect holiday of a book."

THE MALLETS. By E. H. Young. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1927. 322 pp. \$2.00.

The story of three sisters, daughters of General Mallett, in whose family it was traditional for the women not to marry. But there was more beneath the placid surface of the Mallett household than could be caught by the casual eye of the outsider.

THE END OF A WORLD. By Claude Anet. New York and London: Knopf, 1927. 268 pp. \$3.00.

This romance of the last cycle in the history of a community of the Cro-Magnon period has been translated from the French by Jeffery E. Jeffery. A touch of reality is given by the illustrations which are reproductions of primitive art-works.

GOD AND THE GROCERYMAN. By Harold Bell Wright. New York and London: D. Appleton and Co., 1927. 360 pp. \$2.00.

An arraignment of the apparent waste of denominationalism and of the failure of the church to meet the present-day

situation forms the groundwork for this novel which is reputed to be among the "best-sellers."

THE SON OF THE GRAND EUNICH. By Charles Pettit. New York: Boni & Liveright, 1927. 254 pp. \$3.00.

An interesting revelation of the inner life of the Walled City replete with subtle humor.

POORHOUSE SWEENEY. By Ed Sweeney. New York: Boni and Liveright, 1927. 178 pp. \$2.50.

Ed Sweeney gives us his experiences as an inmate. The poorhouse does not always appear in the most favorable light.



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EARLY COMMENTS

The characteristic that cries out from every page, the thing that can not be escaped, that will not be denied, is the piercing, intolerable truth of the thing. *That is also what makes it impossible to drop the book once you have begun it.* It is red and raw. It is as brutal as Fact. But with all that it has a strange and salty beauty that permeates and preserves it. What sedentary white man can fail to feel a twinge of envy of the magnificent vitality of Left-Wing Gordon? In spite of his sufferings and his wallowings, how the fellow had lived! The firm belief is that *Rainbow Round My Shoulder* will stand as the authentic record of a human soul long after you and I have passed down the lonesome road.—GERALD W. JOHNSON, editorial writer on the *Baltimore Evening Sun*.

I have read the manuscript of *Rainbow Round My Shoulder* with great interest and delight. So far as I can see you have done a fine and lasting job. This roustabout, who for so many years has wandered around in our land as well as in our consciousness, has at last been set forth in the light and in the rounded form of art, and will, I have little doubt, become a character synonymous with a type. You have firmly set this lonely, disconsolate, joyous, broiling, whooping, working, singing Black Ulysses in the gallery of figures where Uncle Remus, Paul Bunyan, Babbitt and others abide. I believe that, and I believe that he will not die from us now for many a long season.—PAUL GREEN, winner of Pulitzer Prize, 1927.

The flow of the narrative and the vividness of the scenes made it impossible for me to lay the book down until I had reached the last chapter.—DUDLEY H. MILES, president of the National Council of Teachers of English.

In the first place, it is a bold departure, almost shocking in its suddenness. This is the basis for both its possible danger and its possible sweeping success. If it is accepted as the old-time sociology of the Negro, it will meet objections from Negroes for throwing into relief the least desirable traits of the race, et cetera. If it is accepted as a story of an heroic character whose life was a drama illuminating the field around him, it will be a tremendous success. Its title is poetic and carries a rich romantic suggestion; the secular folk songs generously and appropriately laced through the story are of great strength and, frequently, beauty. The introductions to chapters are of grace and force.

The final chapter helps immensely to give meaning to the story; Dr. Odum takes rather advanced ground in his view of his heroic character. He shows Black Ulysses as an heroic type whose story is fascinating because it represents, not simply racial circumstances, but a restless, adventurous life into which all the major experiences are crowded, leaving it still restless and unsatisfied, trying to piece together a commonplace and workable philosophy of living.—CHARLES S. JOHNSON, editor of *Opportunity*.

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called attention to the increasing importance of the quality and quantity of social research and the need for more adequate media for publication in this field just as the psychologists, for instance, have had for years. We urged coöperation and interest in the form of suggestions or lists of people who would welcome an invitation to subscribe, and particularly we recommended personal efforts to interest social work agencies, community organizations, and libraries to subscribe. Finally, we asked for criticisms and suggestions as to the amount and type of material published.

In the case of the southern letter we raised the question, for instance, why the combined subscribers of a half dozen southern states was still less than New York's list alone or why Ohio, for instance, or California should have more subscribers than any two southern states except North Carolina. The results of this letter as an experiment have been most illuminating, but sufficient time has not yet elapsed to make a full report.

In addition to the consensus of opinion that the editors and publishers of *SOCIAL FORCES* have not perhaps carried on persistent enough campaigns, a second verdict has been the natural one that, in the midst of so many periodicals and journals, the selective process is a difficult one. There is, of course, no doubt as to the facts here. A typical comment is that "I have had our library subscribe to *SOCIAL FORCES* from the very beginning of this publication. While I feel I cannot get along very well without its help, I cannot subscribe to it personally." This is from a professor in a small college where he must teach courses in sociology, economics, and perhaps a little political science as well, and must keep in touch with a large number of publications. *SOCIAL FORCES* raised no question about the situation

there. What it did was to put the problem of added effort and definite choice straight up to those who are interested in this field. There is here a joint problem of promotion and interpretation which was well stated by the president of a university in Tennessee who said, "I think this is chiefly a matter of salesmanship. We must build up a taste for the Journal and must stimulate our professors in the new developments of sociology in most of our institutions to profit by the type of literature contained in the Journal. I, myself, would not do without it. It is the one magazine I try to read."

Perhaps a little later report from these and other efforts may be of interest when more time shall have elapsed, this note having been worked out two or three weeks after the letter was sent. The response to the inquiry so far as the quality of letters that have come in has been most helpful and gratifying. So far as quantity is concerned, it has not yet reached expectations. Especially has this been true in the southern region where the number of letters and subscribers received have been very small, but of the most enthusiastic sort. Particularly gratifying have been specific suggestions made in several of the states with a view to doubling the subscription in that particular state. Perhaps with the exception of New York and North Carolina, this ought to be a relatively easy process if the editors and contributing editors will study out the situation a little more clearly.

Concerning the form and content of *SOCIAL FORCES*, there have been also most interesting comments, other than mere gratifying general enthusiasm. Let us contrast the vigorous statement of Miss Florence Kelley, for instance, with that of Arthur Calhoun or the statement of Professor Brearley, of Clemson College, with that of Professor Sorokin, of Minnesota.

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Miss Kelley says, in part, "I have so frankly reported to you my liking for SOCIAL FORCES that I am venturing to hope that you won't resent this friendly protest. . . . I am hoping to contribute in some humble way toward warding off a grievous injury to social work and its possible recruits. I refer to the invasion of SOCIAL FORCES by pseudo-scientific jargon in place of its former simple, clear, and attractive English." Miss Kelley writes most cordially "in the full faith" that we shall take the outburst in the spirit in which it is meant. And she may rest assured that nothing will be received with more consideration than her suggestions made "sincerely and anxiously." Professor Calhoun writes, on the other hand, that he has lost interest in SOCIAL FORCES largely because "I seem to notice a tendency to tone down the magazine to a simple, cheap, social work level. I think the evidence is sufficient that a genuine *social science* publication would not be tolerated by university auspices. Professor Brearley suggests that sociology is 'cluttered with the philosophizings of some of its devotees. Consequently, I should like to see SOCIAL FORCES give preference to definite material, such as Hart's discussion in the last issue and Mary Watters' discussion of the 'Pentitentes.' Couldn't you transfer the vague speculations and philosophical theories somewhere else?" And Professor Sorokin's valuable suggestion is that he would prefer that SOCIAL FORCES "would give more space for purely scientific papers and less for popular and half popular papers," adding that his opinion "is, of course, a personal opinion of one specialist."

As a matter of fact, there is, after all, perhaps no conflict between the two ideals. It is a difficult task for SOCIAL FORCES to combine the descriptive and scientific with

the more or less purposive scientific quality, which the modern social science program demands for its own orientation and guidance. The ideal of SOCIAL FORCES was well stated by Professor Giddings a few years ago when he said "a more successful combination of scientific viewpoint and practical appeal I have not seen," and by Professor Ellwood when he said "it is remarkable for its combination of the theoretical and practical," and again by Professor Walton Hamilton when he said "it has a variety almost unique in periodical literature." Finally, the JUNE SOCIAL FORCES which is planned to appear in early May in time for the National Conference of Social Work, with its general emphasis upon sociology and social work, will, we hope, exemplify much of this ideal.

A review of the five years' contributions of SOCIAL FORCES will show to what extent this ideal has been attained. In its more than 560 articles, 760 book reviews, and almost as many book notes, we recall the notable articles on "The Scientific Study of Human Society" by Professor Giddings and those on "Law and Society" by Dean Pound, both of which later, in book form, were awarded a place in the list of "Forty Notable American Books of 1926" on the League of Nations list. We recall many other notable articles and contributions by the more eminent and distinguished social scientists and sociologists, as well as by such publicists and educators as Walter Lippmann, Newton Baker, Henry Noble MacCracken, and William Allen White. But perhaps we value most of all the contributions of the younger group which have come straight from their workshops, representing enthusiasm, processes of development, as well as actual contributions of value, and the stories of actual experiments in social practice that have been told through SOCIAL FORCES.